1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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to which she had belonged before her marriage, and in particular sent some of her children to her parents to be cared for until adolescence. In this way a web of affinal ties was built up, cutting across both the residential and age-set systems and acting against the fissile tendencies in the former.[47]

The ties that bound a man to his age-mates and to his matrilateral kin cut across those linking him to his lord and to his dependants. Nevertheless, it seems probable that even without this arrangement of cross-cutting ties, the segmentary system itself was not easily fissile. The State as a whole was primarily held together by its enemies, the external enemies who made it unsafe for small bodies of Ngoni to venture across the no-man's-land on their own, and the internal rivals who competed for the Paramount Chief's favour and who bided their time until they could lead off their major segments as independent states. The flexibility of the system allowed men to achieve power within it, and provided a way of balancing the interests of different groups, as well as making possible the few instances of fission that did occur. The Paramount Chief was powerful, not only because of his mystical attributes and of the military successes of his people, but because he was the government. Through him the common interests of the tribe as a whole were expressed in an organized manner as against the interests of minority groups. Despite its segmentary form, Ngoni society was a State.

In later years two changes took place which increased the stability of the State, at least from a short-term point of view. In the first place, the external environment altered due to the penetration into the central African hinterland by Arabs, Portuguese and British. With this topic we shall deal in Chapter III. The second change, which seems to have taken place among the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, was in the internal organization of the State. In that particular group, neighbouring tribes were brought under subjection as political groups, not as individuals, and the conquered peoples were either allowed to retain their own chiefs as subordinate rulers or else were attached in large batches to various important headquarters. A distinction emerged between the aristocracy and the conquered peoples, and the army was no longer simply the aggregation of age-sets but included quasi-professionals supplied by a near-by unconquered Cewa chief Mwase Kasungu, who were armed with guns. Similar changes may well have taken place among the Ngoni groups in Tanganyika, who were more closely involved with the slave trade to the coast

[47] See the discussion of affinal linking in my *Marriage*, pp. 10-11.

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Manning stipulated that cattle handed back to the Ngoni should not be sold, to prevent traders bartering cattle for gunpowder.[123] Nevertheless the majority of the cattle remaining in or returned to Ngoni hands were sold within two years. In April 1898 over 14,000 head of cattle were counted.[124] Whether or not all these were in Ngoni ownership at the time is not clear, although the North Charterland implied in a letter written in 1899 that at least 12,000 belonged to Ngoni.[125] During the next year or so, in spite of Administrative opposition, many thousands of cattle were sold to traders or killed. By 31 March 1900 only 1,224 remained.[126] Thus another of the systems of social relationships, those mediated through cattle, which had sustained the old social order, was undermined.

8. *The end of a system*

Thus ended the Ngoni war and with it the Ngoni State. In the last twelve years of its existence, from 1886 to 1898, three struggles were proceeding simultaneously in linked regions of social space. First there were the traditional processes already described by which Ngoni killed and recruited their neighbours and by which cleavages between segments of their residential system widened and altered with time. Second there was the struggle between Portugal, Great Britain and, peripherally, Germany for the political control of south-central Africa. Third there was a struggle between different groups of financiers in London for the control of the rich economic resources which they believed, quite mistakenly as far as we can now tell, lay waiting to be discovered in Mpezeni's country and round about. Apart from these three major fields of activity, there were two others which affected this particular area to a lesser degree. There were the traders and adventurers like Wiese (until 1896), Matakenya and the Arabs who competed with one another and endeavoured to exploit the region in terms of ivory, gunpowder and slaves. There were also the various missions, representing the interests of their co-religionists and anti-slavery enthusiasts in Europe, competing with each other and with the slave traders for local control. There was even a scheme for colonizing Mpezeni's country with Christian laymen from Britain.[127] All these social fields were interwoven in reality, but in analysis

[123] 207; 208, fo. 15; 233.
[124] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 65.
[125] 230, p. 69. Duff, *Nyasaland*, p. 393, implies that all the 14,000 belonged to Ngoni.
[126] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 65.
[127] 87.

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villages fairly astonished me; and it was not till then that I realized what a powerful and prosperous people were those whose acquaintance I was about to make.'[137]

We may compare this description of conditions in 1896 with that given by Trapnell for the same area in 1938.

'. . . Reserve II presents an example of combined cutting-out, soil-deterioration and erosion which probably has no equal in the Territory. . . . Cattle are most numerous in this reserve, and . . . their added burden on the land has doubtless helped to weigh the scales to the point of erosion. With cattle and an excessive population in Mpezeni's and Maguya's country, surface compaction and deterioration of soil have come to give place to wholesale wash, and denuded belts of resting land are now to be seen seared by dongas fully ten feet deep. The enormous gullied scars down the face of Nyamfinsi and neighbouring hills provide notable examples of the effects of millet cultivation on impossible slopes.'[138]

The devastation described by Trapnell has come about in part on account of the alienation of land to Whites, but it is also due to the transition which the Ngoni have been forced to make from living as migrant brigands to working as subsistence cultivators and migrant labourers. Even without alienation, it is likely that the large villages would have disappeared.

The population of the tribe immediately prior to the conquest was estimated by Deare to be 40,000 and possibly more. Johnston, in his highly ambitious population density map, appears to have assumed a population of about 50,000, while an official estimate in 1898 was nearly 150,000.[139] The area of Mpezeni's country was estimated by Angus to be about 400 square miles. He also delimits an area of about 2,700 square miles which he describes as 'Angoniland proper', but it is clear that this large area includes much waterless uninhabited country. Johnston implies, on his map, an inhabited area of 3,200 square miles, but again there is clear evidence that in fact much of this was uninhabited. In 1903 it was estimated that the area within which the Ngoni kept their cattle before the conquest was about 600 square miles.[140] Angus's lower estimate is in accord with the distances between villages given by travellers

[137] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 78.
[138] Trapnell, *Ecological Survey*, pp. 67, 71.
[139] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May; *A & P*, 1894, lvii, p. 769; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 3 (26 February 1898), p. 1.
[140] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', pp. 74, 78; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 11 (1 June 1896), p. 1; *Reports on the Administration*, 1903, p. 19.

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to recover under bush fallow. The long-term carrying capacity of the land before the conquest cannot have been much greater than its present average value of 25 persons to the square mile.[144] Thus it is certain that in pre-conquest times the Ngoni were settled at a density even more in excess of the critical value than it is now, despite alienation. There cannot have been much cultivable land in reserve and the State was exhausting the wealth of its own soil as well as drawing on the resources of its neighbours. Thus even if the large villages had not been burnt, the same number of people could not for long have continued to live in them practising subsistence agriculture. A reduction in the density of population necessarily involved under this economy a reduction in the size of villages, for Ngoni do not like to live more than an hour's walk from their gardens. As it was, the villages were burnt, many Ngoni of Cewa origin left Ngoniland, and much of the more densely settled land, carrying up to 140 persons to the square mile, was alienated to Europeans within six years of the war.[145] The arrangement of persons over the land and the activities they carried on were both dramatically altered by the European conquest. It is, therefore, not surprising that the old society was so drastically changed at the same time. What is perhaps surprising is the extent to which, as we shall see, the forms of grouping of the past have influenced the forms of the new society.

In brief, the old political system was a system of segments, the new one is a system of villages and counties. The county segment links the two systems, but there is no function in the new order for segments embracing several counties or for those that embrace only part of a county. Within the village, the segmentary processes still go on, but at this level of organization we are dealing with kinship rather than politics. When a segment grows beyond the bounds of a single village, it begins to fade away, and we are left with a network of ties which link villages with one another but which do not define mutually exclusive groups as existed in pre-conquest times. The uncertainty about how counties should be divided internally is an indication of the lack of function of these intermediate segments. For some purposes, such as the organization of royal hunts, a county is divided into a number of rural districts. These are geographically defined areas, and it is sometimes possible to say that such-and-such a man, usually a senior lieutenant of the county segment, is the most important person in such-and-such a rural area. However, the recognizable rural districts in a county do not

[144] Allan, *Land Usage*, pp. 16-17.
[145] *N.E.R.G.G.*, ii, 2 (15 March 1904), p. 34.

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63/177 always exhaust its total area and districts sometimes overlap. When I inquired of chiefs and their councillors how their counties were subdivided in terms of allegiance, rather than area, I was rarely given a clear answer. The names of various men of importance in the county were mentioned, but there was no consensus about their relative status or the limits of their territories. In the present [622] system village headmen have definite responsibilities and so have county chiefs, but there are no intermediate posts. Segments have given way to counties and villages.

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Chapter Four

TRANSITION

1. Administrative policy 2. White control 3. Chiefs 4. County segments
5. Relative status of chiefs 6. Counties as territorial units 7. Villages

1. *Administrative policy*

THE DEFEAT of the Fort Jameson Ngoni in 1898 was followed by the establishment of an Administration under the British South Africa Company. The greater part of the Nyasaland troops who had done the fighting left the area in April 1898[1] but the North Charterland party remained at their old headquarters at Fort Young, the B.S.A. Company made a base at Fort Patrick a few miles away, and in Nyasaland the Protectorate Administration maintained a station at Fort Manning. The new township of Fort Jameson was established in October 1898[2] and the first mission station was opened by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at Magwero in 1899, in response to a request for a mission made the previous year by Mpezeni.[3] From these bases, White administrators, traders and missionaries, aided by their Black assistants, began to alter the form of Ngoni life. We are here particularly concerned with political organization, and it was the Administration which was particularly influential in determining what form the new Ngoni political organization would take. But political systems do not exist in isolation, and the kinds of political relationship which we find existing to-day have been influenced by the changing economic, commercial and religious relationships which have been determined more specifically by traders, labour recruiters, planters and missionaries as well as by the exertions of administrators.

The Administration of North-Eastern Rhodesia was in the hands of the B.S.A. Company, and the policy adopted was to some extent influenced by developments in other territories administered by the Company. Southern Rhodesia was much more accessible from the sea than North-Eastern Rhodesia, more capital had been invested in it, and its mineral wealth appeared to be considerably greater. North-Eastern Rhodesia was therefore

[1] 210, fo. 67.
[2] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 71.
[3] Bruwer, *Mbiri*, p. 22.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

439 regarded as a territory which would supply Native labour and,
648 possibly, cattle to the south. Little attempt was made to develop
[464] the resources of the territory itself, and indeed in so far as Mpezeni's country was concerned, the B.S.A. Company had ceded its rights to do so to the North Charterland. The general pattern of White-Black participation in economic activity was taken over from South Africa, whence many of the early settlers came, and there was no attempt to train a Black *élite* to perform skilled tasks. Apart from the Ngoni and the Bemba, the Black population of North-Eastern Rhodesia had been taken under the administration of the B.S.A. Company without serious fighting and their chiefs did not have the opportunity to become leaders of opposition against the Whites. The Administration wished to keep its expenses low and found that
[643] the cheapest way of running the country was through the
[622] indigenous chiefs and headmen. Hence a system of administration grew up which was in many respects similar to that later known as Indirect Rule.[4] Chiefs and village headmen were placed under a statutory obligation to preserve law and order among their people. Some of them were paid a few shillings a year for their labours and were given ceremonial spears of office. There were no formally constituted Native courts, as there are now, but minor cases of all
[692] kinds were heard by indigenous tribunals, and the authority of these tribunals appears to have been upheld by the Administration in so far as their judgments were regarded as maintaining law and order. Indeed on occasion the Administration indicated to chiefs what kinds of cases they should deal with and what should be referred to the Administration. The collection of tax, one of the
[651] most important activities of the early administrators, was carried out with the assistance, or the enforced co-operation, of the Black
[464] leaders. Labour recruiters appear to have operated in much the same kind of way. Thus the commoner in his village found that to a considerable extent access for him to these new White agencies was along the traditional chain of authority through headman and chief. The missions were to a greater extent concerned with
[797] establishing relationships with individuals without reference to their position in indigenous society, but even they tried occasionally to work through chiefs and other notables. Thus despite the changed situation, the indigenous order was utilized by the White invaders and in so far as that order was useful to them they endeavoured to uphold it.

177 Nevertheless, the encouragement given by the Administration
464 to recruiters of labour from the south, and the economic necessity
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648

[4] cf. Hailey, *African Survey*, pp. 452-3.

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of earning money to pay tax, together with such subsidiary measures as the prohibition of Native smelting, and the pressure on men to clothe themselves in imported clothing, ensured that the old order changed beyond the mere loss of sovereignty. Not only were links established with Southern Rhodesia and later with other parts of Africa, but new patterns of distribution of wealth and power were set up which were incompatible with the old order. The chief who stayed at home ruling his people found himself outclassed by the newly returned labourers from the south, with their display of clothes, money and urban mannerisms. The relationships between one tribe and another which formerly had found expression in fighting had now to find other expressions, and began to be based on different interests.

These general considerations applied throughout North-Eastern Rhodesia. In Ngoniland local variation was supplied more by the presence of the North Charterland than by the fact that the Ngoni had been defeated in war. The North Charterland was interested in the economic development of its concession, whereas the Administration had to consider the needs of other territories governed by the B.S.A. Company, particularly Southern Rhodesia. The same administrative policy was applied to the Ngoni as to neighbouring tribes which had not been conquered by force of arms. Nevertheless in Ngoni eyes the Administration discriminated against Ngoni in favour of Cewa. Many Cewa who had been captured shortly before 1898 moved away from Ngoniland after the war, or at least moved in the direction of their homeland. With the end of Ngoni raiding the no-man's-land round Ngoni country filled up again with Cewa who had been displaced when the Ngoni first arrived in the 1870s. Cewa chiefdoms were re-established and recognized by the Administration, to the chagrin of the Ngoni.

Even the Ngoni themselves were referred to by the Administration as the 'Angoni-Chewa' by way of emphasizing their mixed ethnic composition. When the Native Reserve scheme was put forward in 1913 the Ngoni chiefs objected to the Cewa being allotted land of their own, and suggested that all the tribes of the district should be placed in one reserve under Mpezeni II. The Administration did not agree. When villages were moved into the proposed reserves in the 1920s, a few more villages left Ngoniland for Cewa country. At the same time other villages moved into Ngoniland from other chiefdoms in the face of alienation of land or difficulties with the Portuguese Administration. Thus to-day many villages in Ngoniland are of Cewa origin and many villages in Cewa chiefdoms are of Ngoni origin.

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interests and those of neighbouring tribes against the North Charterland and the White settlers. Ngoni themselves have not been in a position to enforce their own point of view.

In the operation of the legal system White control has never been so complete, as we have indicated above. However the support given to the judgments of chiefs and others by the Administration prior to 1929 was political rather than legal, and the courts held by chiefs with or without the approval of the Administration did not form part of the same legal system as the Administration's own courts. In that year Native Courts with defined powers were established as part of the same legal system as other recognized courts in the British Empire, with ultimate connexion to the Privy Council.[16] In matters of religion White dominance has been achieved more slowly and has never been complete. But even in this field the religions brought by the Whites have triumphed over the cult of the chief's ancestors and to-day it is the Christians who are the ritual experts.

A parallel sequence of events has taken place in Nyasaland, save that there the amount of land alienated in the Fort Manning area has been small. A scheme of administration was given a legal basis in 1912, and was similar to that in Northern Rhodesia. It was revised in 1924, and in 1933 Native Authorities and Native Courts were set up.[17] The two principal missions in Fort Jameson District have stations in Nyasaland as well.

In both countries Ngoni have been required to pay tax. A hut tax was introduced on the Rhodesian side of the border in 1901 and at about the same time in Nyasaland. The annual rate has varied in Fort Jameson District from three to ten shillings. The imposition of tax has been of importance, not only in partly meeting the costs of Administration, but also in bringing Ngoni men and women into the wider economic system of farms, mines and offices of southern Africa.

Thus the Whites established control over the Ngoni in most of their important external relations. Politics, settlement, litigation, religion and economic activity have all been moulded by the Whites. In many respects this has been a passive process, for little that the Ngoni have done or not done has been significant to the decision to set up Native Courts, or to expand the production of tobacco, or even to open up a mission of some new denomination.

[16] By Ordinance No. 33 of 1929. Subsequent legislation is contained in Ordinances No. 10 of 1936, 18 of 1940, and 21 of 1942.

[17] Legislation is to be found in Ordinances No. 13 of 1912, 11 of 1924, 13 of 1933 and 14 of 1933.

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These decisions have been taken within frames of reference beyond the reach of our analysis and beyond the reach of Ngoni persuasion. We are here concerned with the way in which Ngoni society has been adapted and has adapted itself to these diverse intrusions from outside.

3. *Chiefs*

In the old residential system there was no definite category of persons whom we regard as chiefs. In the literature the lords of major segments are sometimes called chiefs, sometimes indunas (i.e. lieutenants), but it is clear that the importance of any particular segment varied from one time and situation to another, and that the only constant relations between positions in the social structure were vertical ones, between lord and dependant, and not horizontal, between persons at the same level in the hierarchy but in different parts of it. The administrative scheme introduced by the Whites provided for horizontal categorization as well as vertical grouping. There were to be a definite number of chiefs, district headmen, and later village headmen, whose names would appear on the Administration's files. The only indigenous categories of this kind were those of Paramount Chief and regional governor, and for this reason alone it was inevitable that the relationship between the old and new systems should be complex. Although the young Mpezeni II was not the only person to be called chief, his superior status was always recognized and later received formal ratification in the qualification Paramount. The regional governors may, perhaps, have formed a category of persons at the same level in the old hierarchy, but they were not very numerous, perhaps only a dozen in number, and under the new dispensation some managed to become chiefs or district headmen, while others failed to do so. Village headmen in the old system were lords of segments of many different orders of segmentation and of varying importance. If the large pre-conquest villages had continued, then perhaps their heads might have secured Administrative recognition. As it was, post-conquest settlements were all much smaller and there were more of them.

Apart from these formal considerations, the peculiar circumstances of the war introduced distortion. Some important people were killed in the fighting, others ran away, and the followers of others were scattered. More significantly, the arrival of the Administration, of traders and missions, provided means whereby people whose segments were of minor importance could advance themselves politically and gain control of large sections of the population.

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than this. Annual reports often draw attention to the smooth working of Native Courts and their impartiality, while attempts are made to establish British rules of evidence and of legal procedure generally. By trying thus to isolate the judiciary from the Native Authority and, more recently, by the proposal to introduce an entirely separate police force into rural areas, the Administration is engaged on an active policy of social change. One change that has already occurred widely is in the role played by the chief in his court. We have seen that traditionally disputes were settled by the senior lieutenants of the segment concerned and referred to the chief only if the lieutenants did not agree, for the chief represented the unity of the people and was above all disputes. When Administrative officers began to supervise the work of Native Courts they usually interpreted the chief's absence from his court as neglect of his duties. Pressure was put on chiefs to attend and participate in their courts, another step towards the secularization of their office. Nowadays some Ngoni chiefs stay out of their courts, others actively hear cases in them, and others drift in and out, sometimes intervening, sometimes waiting for difficult issues to be referred to them. The changed Native Court is one of the agencies whereby the transition from small-scale to large-scale society is to be made. The very successes which were hailed generally for Native Courts in Africa on the introduction of Indirect Rule are surely evidence of the importance attached by the Administration to maintaining courts of the right kind.

The role of the court in the essentially political relationship between the Administration and the Native Authority is made clear when we consider the sources of law enforced in the courts. I have described elsewhere[35] how many of the regulations sought for by the Administration are introduced as Native Authority Rules and Orders, which are then approved by the Administration. This is a harmless legal fiction which worries no one, since new legislation emanating from within the counties is enforced or not quite independently of whether or not it is referred to the Administration and is included in its list of Native Authority legislation. But it is significant that even this fiction can have political significance, for recently it was suggested that a soil erosion law, which had been introduced as a Native Authority Order, would be more accurately described as an Administrative rule which the Native Courts were empowered to enforce. This suggestion was rejected by a meeting of chiefs, who stated that they wished to retain the

[35] Barnes, 'Political development', pp. 102-3.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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these Ngoni before they were defeated and driven out of Songea by the Gama group of Ngoni.

The northern Ngoni, who travelled east of the Luangwa valley into Tanganyika, acquired followers with clan descent names from the Nsenga in Northern Rhodesia and the Safwa and Sukuma in Tanganyika.

(*d*) '*Those from this country*'

Under this category were included all the local peoples in Nyasaland who either were conquered by the Ngoni or surrendered to them, and who were brought within the rule of the Ngoni kingdoms. These in the northern kingdom were chiefly of Tumbuka and Henga clans, with others from Cewa and Bemba stock. In the central kingdom the local clan names were of Cewa and Yao origin.

Two conclusions emerge from this review of the ethnic composition of the Ngoni kingdoms. The first is that the use of Ngoni as a tribal designation causes confusion. In this study the term Ngoni will be used when referring to persons whose clan descent names show that their ancestors were of Swazi or trans-Zambesi stock—that is categories (*a*) and (*b*) in this chapter. This criterion of who were Ngoni would probably not correspond with the criteria used in the 1945 census enumeration. The enumerators may have asked a direct question, 'Are you Ngoni?'; they may have asked the person's clan descent name; they may have asked to which kingdom or chiefdom he belonged; or they may have asked all four questions or any two. Since the Ngoni were found in every district in the country it was likely that there was little uniformity in the form of the questions asked by the enumerators or in the criteria admitted by those being questioned for declaring themselves to be Ngoni.

The second conclusion is that even if the criterion is accepted that the Ngoni were those whose ancestors crossed the Zambesi, the Ngoni kingdoms as political states included all the four elements (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*). The status of the ethnically distinct groups in the kingdoms varied according to their clan names which indicated whether they came from the south or had been incorporated at a later stage. Ngoni forms of culture were found not only in groups (*a*) and (*b*), as would be expected, but often among families in group (*c*) who, through fighting in the Ngoni armies and marrying into Ngoni families, had adopted their social and ritual pattern.[1]

[1] Since the first draft of this book was written, Dr. Barnes's study of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, *Politics in a Changing Society* (O.U.P., 1954), has appeared. The early history of the Ngoni in the northern kingdom is the same as that of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, up to the final separation of the kingdoms under Mpeseni and Mbelwa. Dr. Barnes's excellent bibliography gives the sources for the historical documentation of their travels. A brief sketch of the history of the two groups under the leadership of the Jere and Maseko Paramounts is given in Mary Tew's *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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leave after meeting, withdrawing after a case in court, and initiating or concluding many other formal or less formal occasions. Children were taught to use the correct expressions and rebuked if they made a mistake, and it was one of the requirements in Ngoni families that a uniform standard of verbal politeness should accompany correct behaviour in posture.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES AND DIFFERENCES

N M 121 122

The anthropologist working in Nyasaland is aware of the problems inherent in any attempt to isolate cultural features within any of the larger ethnic groups found there. There were no ethnographic field studies published of any of the other ethnic groups when I was working among the Ngoni. Mary Tew, in *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*,[1] referred to scattered sources published before 1939, to which I had access; and from time to time Cewa informants wrote accounts of particular social institutions or ritual, from which I was able to make certain comparisons with Ngoni ritual and institutions. Some of the earlier accounts, such as that by Hodgson on the Cewa and Ngoni in the Dowa district,[2] assumed that all the cultural changes and 'borrowings' had been by the Ngoni from their Cewa neighbours, whereas I found in that area in 1939 Cewa villages where Ngoni cultural elements had been adopted.

N M 114 177 ●

N M T 105

Ngoni cultural affinities with South-eastern Bantu	*Local tribal differences*
Paramount and subordinate chiefs	Chiefs; no central authority except in Henga and Ngonde
Patrilineal descent Virilocal residence Marriage by *lobola*	Cewa and southern Tumbuka: Matrilineal descent, uxorilocal residence, marriage witnesses Henga: Patrilineal descent and virilocal residence
Clan exogamy ,, hierarchy Houses Age sets	Cewa: No clan exogamy ,, ,, hierarchy *Mbumba* group Girls' initiation schools
Cattle complex Ancestor cult associated with cattle	Tumbuka Cewa in Dedza district: Formerly cattle-owners but no terminology left and no association with ancestor cult
Burial customs: in skin near kraal	Cewa and Tumbuka: Graves outside village; buried in a mat

[1] Tew, M., op. cit.
[2] Hodgson, A. G. O. 'Notes on the Achewa and Angoni of Dowa District, Nyasaland.' *J. Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1933, pp. 126–64.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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The distinctiveness of Ngoni institutions, so often emphasized by the older men and by the early travellers in Nyasaland, was due to cultural affinities with the South-eastern Bantu. The attached table sets out those social and cultural elements in the Ngoni kingdoms which were most distinct from parallel features among the neighbouring peoples, and which had obvious affinity with South-eastern Bantu cultures. The main Ngoni cultural elements have already been referred to in this chapter and will be further discussed in the rest of this study. The corresponding elements among the local peoples are based partly on the earlier sources quoted by Tew and partly on local informants and my own observations. In collecting information about clans, the *mbumba* group consisting of a man with his sisters' children, and the girls' initiation schools, I had no direct contacts with any except Cewa sources.

Variations in cultural conformity among the Ngoni

In the Ngoni kingdoms among families with Swazi and trans-Zambesi clan descent names there was considerable variation in the degree to which they maintained Ngoni institutions and practised Ngoni cultural forms. The anthropologist was constantly aware that the time element was an important factor in the consolidation of Ngoni practices and in the attitudes developed towards Ngoni culture among the individuals in the different generations. The Ngoni in both kingdoms spoke of the 'older generations' (*mibadwo wa kale*), 'the middle generations' (*mibadwo wa mphati*), and 'the present generation' (*mibadwo wa tsopano*). The first had grown to adulthood before the Europeans came, and were the older senior men and women in the 1930's; the second had been affected by European missionaries, traders, and officials while they were young men and women; the third had never known anything but European contacts and many had grown up in European schools. The senior Ngoni of the older generation often expressed the sentiment: *zatha zonse tsopano* (everything is finished now). They included in that saying the regrets of the older Ngoni for their former independence, and their resentment at the domination of European rule and European culture. It is idle to speculate what cultural changes might have taken place in the Ngoni kingdoms if European influence had been postponed another twenty to thirty years. Nevertheless it is a vital factor in assessing Ngoni culture that the kingdoms had barely twenty years of independent existence before the Europeans began to penetrate Nyasaland. The older Ngoni looked back on their former independent existence as a golden age in which they were spreading Ngoni customs and culture as well as exercising political supremacy. It is difficult to believe that this was wholly true, in view of the extensive cultural interchange going on in the country as a whole. It is, however, possible that wider acceptance of Ngoni cultural elements was prevented by the advent of the Europeans, in so far as cultural institutions and political dominance were closely

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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associated. When warfare ceased the Ngoni could no longer force subject peoples to accept their rule and their cultural institutions, and they had to acquiesce in considerable cultural heterogeneity within their kingdoms, which, according to Ngoni informants, would not have been allowed in pre-European days. The illustrations they gave were in terms of the families living 'on the horns of the village', in many cases the families of captives taken in war. Formerly, they said, those families would have been made to marry with *lobola*, to have their ears pierced in Ngoni fashion, to serve in the army, to be associated with one of the house-groups and serve them in the huts or in the gardens. When Ngoni political power declined, and when large villages broke up, some of these groups formed their own villages and reverted to their former practices of matrilineal descent and uxorilocal residence, and of girls' initiation ceremonies.

In the northern kingdom one section of the peoples under Henga leadership had adopted a patrilineal system before the Ngoni came. The effect of the Ngoni conquest was to strengthen these practices in this northern section, adding marriage by *lobola*, and to extend them to the southern Tumbuka whose kinship and marriage practices were like those of the Cewa who were their neighbours.[1] In the central kingdom, patrilineal descent, marriage by *lobola* and virilocal residence were only practised by families of Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans, and they had introduced variations in virilocal residence which will be discussed in Chapter IV, Part III. Within the true Ngoni families in both kingdoms the senior men and women in the 1930's were aware that cultural conformity with Ngoni practices was not as strict as it had been in their parents' days. They spoke of those Ngoni families who were non-conforming as 'people who spoil the land'.

On the other hand, the adoption of Ngoni customs by non-Ngoni in the Ngoni kingdoms, that is by families with descent names from cis-Zambesi and local clans, continued to take place after European rule began. I found several instances of this adoption in the central kingdom, and many of them were related to the acquisition of cattle by former non-Ngoni families. It was chiefly the virilocal form of residence and patrilineal descent which were taken over with *lobola* marriage. When describing the adoption of such Ngoni practices, informants always said it was *monga cingoni* (like the Ngoni). Those who belonged to the Ngoni kingdoms and had largely adopted Ngoni culture expressed strong sentiments of attachment to it; this was particularly true of town-dwellers who had come from the Ngoni kingdoms but were not members of Swazi or trans-Zambesi clans. Though they adopted many external forms of European culture in dress, houses and food, the consciousness of their association with Ngoni culture and the Ngoni kingdoms was expressed in strongly emotional terms.

[1] Tew, M. op. cit. pp. 107, 109.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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when eating meat. The lesser wives sat on the ground, which was cleaned and smeared often with cow's dung.

The second *induna* of the village was the one who put the meat on the *ingwenshe*, or big platter of the *inkosikazi*, and placed it before her. She herself or her *nkhanzi* (co-wife) divided the meat for the other women, the wife of the *induna* helping her. After they had eaten, each *inkosikazi* called for an *ingwenshe* from her house for the meat to be given to her attendants.

The Life of the Royal Women
by NaNdumbu

formerly the big wife of the late Chief Njolomole Nyungu I in the central kingdom

¶ Old Njolomole had many wives, great and small. His huts were well made, and in the middle was the 'big house'. They made a fence to go round all the huts, and its appearance was very good. [36] 351]

He was fond of sitting on the *bwalo*, and all his wives cooked *nsima* and took many baskets to the *bwalo*. He himself ate alone, but afterwards gave food to the big people and they in turn to the children who were waiting on the *bwalo*. If a stranger came, he did not lack food, for the chief gave food to strangers and finer. So all strangers praised his behaviour. And he was known far and wide in the land for his comely behaviour. [574]

When the days for *ngoma* were near he was going to the stores to buy many cloths to divide them to all his wives. Especially he was giving them to NaNdumbu his big wife to divide. Those cloths were all of one kind. On the day of dancing *ngoma* all the women wore these cloths and came on the *bwalo* with the chief. The people were astonished to see the women dressed alike. Njolomole excelled among all the people, and all praised him.

In the hut of NaNdumbu there were girls to sweep and to pound, and NaNdumbu was just sitting, no pounding for her.

Njolomole was very fond of hunting and when he killed animals in the hunt he divided them among his wives. Then he died and left his wives. From that time his wives have been very poor, and some have gone away to their own homes. Those who are here have been married by other men. Although the men dance *ngoma*, those women cannot dance it because they were greatly praised when they danced with fine cloths, but they cannot dance with poor cloths, no. So when people dance they just look on. Those women can dance *ngoma* in other villages, but here in their own village, no. Because they grieve very much to see the tomb of their husband who was dancing with them.

The Clothing of Women
by Yesaya Cibambo

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¶ Today Ngoni women are not easily recognized because they have taken foreign customs of clothing. Long ago Ngoni women were easily distinguished by their hair. They did not shave their hair except when their husband died. It was washed carefully and oiled and combed upwards to the top of the head in the *inkhata*. The oil was *ipakla*, clarified butter. This was done every two or three days, or every day if they were grand women. They decorated it with small strings of beads dangling from a [301]

[p. 88]

CHAPTER IV

COURTS AND OFFICIALS

121 177 671 The Ngoni claimed that when they established their kingdoms in Nyasaland they introduced a new idea of law, a different system of courts, and a different procedure for conducting cases in those courts, from those found among the local peoples. Within their kingdoms they imposed on all their subjects these ideas, courts and legal procedure as part of their government, applied to the conquerors and the conquered alike. We shall consider in this chapter only those aspects of the courts and the legal system which were related to the political structure. The categories of crime, the degree of punishment, the sanctions for enforcement of the law, and the effect of the judicial procedure on the balance of equilibrium in the community, all belong to a specialized study and are not included here.

The Ngoni Concept of Law

692 643 671 We begin with two texts, the first from the northern kingdom by Cibambo, the second by Ishmael Mwale the Treasurer of the Paramount in the central kingdom.

[203] (1) The Ngoni seem to have been born with a gift for leadership or rule. Though they were a wandering tribe, yet there was one Paramount from whom proceeded the laws for the good government of the people. All the lesser chiefs and headmen received from him the leadership of the people. Though they had no way of writing to each other, they kept their unity by messengers passing between them. The Paramount had power to call gatherings from time to time, in which they talked of the affairs of the country. In these gatherings the old men and the men of repute who had a point to make were heard in criticism and made suggestions for the building up of the realm. By this means the Paramount and his counsellors learned of and understood the thoughts of their people. It was in such large gatherings that the laws of the country were delivered to the people, so that they might hold fast to them and not be punished unreasonably for breaking them in ignorance. After they came back from these gatherings, the headmen and men of standing gathered together their villages to tell the people what had been spoken in the great council of the Paramount, and told them carefully about the laws which had come from the gathering.

173 671 (2) Before the Ngoni came to this country the villages were small and isolated from one another. There was constant pouncing on people to catch them as slaves. It was unsafe to go even a quarter of a mile from one village to another, because a man might be in hiding and pounce out and catch you and take you off to his village as a slave, and there was no redress and no case was heard. Most people never went beyond the

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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Cattle in the ancestor cult

The Ngoni, unlike the Swazi as described by Dr. Kuper,[1] had no clear ideas about the life after death as lived by their immediate ancestors with whom they had associated in their lifetime. They did not, as the Swazi did, picture them living somewhere surrounded with cattle and other familiar creatures and objects. The importance of bringing the spirit back (*ukubuyisa idlozi*) to the house where it would be cared for signified two main things for them. The first was the continuous association of the spirit of the dead with the living persons in the community to which he had belonged, through the individuals belonging to the house, the actual hut where the sacrificial vessels were kept, and the cattle which belonged to the house. The other significant point was that contact with the returned spirit, and through him with the spirits of more remote ancestors, could only be established in the village containing the cattle of the house to which the dead man had belonged.

We shall be examining some aspects of the ritual of addressing the ancestral spirits in a later chapter of this section. Here we shall establish three constituent parts of the ancestor cult in which cattle were essential links between those taking part in the cult and the spirits whom they addressed.

The first part was the group of ceremonies which took place at death, at the burial, at the first ritual shaving and at bringing back the spirit. A text by Lopati Nzungu (see Chapter IV, p. 200) illustrates how three parts of a beast—the skin, the kidney fat (*nasso*) and the gall bladder (*nyongo*)—were considered essential for Ngoni burial. It was interesting to find in Blantyre among educated Ngoni who were Christians and occupied clerical and commercial posts, that they had given up the cow-skin for wrapping the corpse and substituted a coffin. But they admitted confidentially that in most Ngoni funerals the use of the *nasso* and the *nyongo* was customary. After the burial the ritual shaving, shared in by all who attended the funeral, was accompanied by the killing of a beast and the consumption of its meat, though with no ritual significance beyond its association with the purification of the mourners and their integration as a group. From six to twelve months later the second shaving and the bringing back of the spirit was also accompanied by killing a beast and eating its meat. These ceremonies expressed the sense of loss felt for the human person who had died, the sorrow of the mourners, their successive acts of purification which served to bring them together, and the final bringing of the spirit to live among them again. As we have seen, each stage of the death and mourning rites was accompanied by the eating of a beast or the use of certain parts of a beast. The cattle of the house to which the dead person belonged were used to bury him or her, to strengthen the mourners, and to reintegrate the spirit with the living community.

[1] Kuper, H. *An African Aristocracy*, p. 180.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

186 563 621 in the village, whom they regarded as inferior not only because they had been conquered, but because they disliked and despised their way of living. This sense of separateness from and of superiority to the non-Ngoni elements in the villages had its counterpart in the close ties which existed with Ngoni families in other villages. These ties were reinforced socially by 'dynastic' or inter-clan marriages, and politically through the hierarchy of courts and officials leading up to the Paramount's court and entourage.

[582] [631]

565 621 [183] [177] The Ngoni aristocracy endeavoured to maintain their traditional ways of living and of bringing up their children in the face of changes creeping in from the non-Ngoni elements in the village, as well as from external European influences. The maintenance of Ngoni ways of living and cultural patterns of behaviour depended on three main elements in village society. One was the degree of integration between the Ngoni men in their house groups and in village society as a whole. This was most evident in chiefs' villages, and in the villages belonging to the heads of clans. The second element was the number of wives of true Ngoni families who had married into the village, thus combining the influence of husband and wife, or rather of father and mother, in bringing up children on the Ngoni pattern. The third element was the number and influence of senior women of Ngoni families, either wives of older men in the village, or widows of former leaders. This senior women's group, many of whom were addressed as 'mother' by the Ngoni fathers of young families, were a formidable force in maintaining tradition, by advising their sons, coercing their daughters-in-law, and holding on to their authority at every stage of the children's development.

[562] [593] [606]

Life in two Ngoni villages

121 [114] I am going briefly to sketch in, as a general background for the following chapters, the main features of two villages, in one of which I lived for several months, in the other for a few weeks.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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There were musicians and craftsmen there, as at Enkodlweni. All the senior Ngoni men knew Ngoni history, used proverbs in the courts and in conversation, and two or three senior men knew and carried out the ritual of the ancestor cult. The new element in this village was due to economic influences rather than missionary and educational. Most of the men had learned to read and write Nyanja while away at work, but no one knew more than a few words of English, and only one or two of the leading men, and no women, spoke Ngoni.

The men of the leading Ngoni families formed a closely knit group for purposes of village affairs, social life and ritual performances. There was a group of senior Ngoni women who exerted a powerful influence in all matters concerned with household life and the bringing up of children. But out of a total of one hundred and twenty-one households, only thirty-seven belonged to men of Ngoni clans, and there were only thirty-two women of Ngoni clans including both the older and the younger groups of women. The aristocratic group here was small in comparison with Enkodlweni, but the influence of their ways of living was proportionately much stronger. The Ngoni men and women of leading families were very conscious of their cultural distinction and also of their relatively small numbers, and many were the complaints about 'those other people who are spoiling our land'.

Political and social changes

When the British took over the administration of Nyasaland between 1891 and 1901, the Ngoni kingdoms received no special recognition. Their chiefs, called by the administration principal village headmen, and their heads of clans called village headmen, were relegated to the same position *vis-à-vis* the administration as the local peoples. Part of the Central Ngoni kingdom was cut off from the rest by the treaty demarcating the Nyasaland boundary from Portuguese East African.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

Africa. All males had to pay taxes to the government, at first in kind and later in cash, thus hastening the advent of a money economy. Most drastic of all the changes was the ban on warfare, which cut at the roots of Ngoni political organization, and at their system of training their young men.

In the Northern Ngoni kingdom, the Scottish Mission preceded the administration by more than twenty years, and were largely responsible for a peaceful take-over of the area. In the Central kingdom there was a brief war of resistance, in which the Ngoni armies were dispersed and the Paramount killed on his way to trial. In this area mission activity, under several missions, never achieved, especially in education, the ascendancy which the Scottish Mission achieved among the Ngoni in the North.

As one result of the cessation of warfare, and of school education leading to paid employment, there was an economic redistribution of wealth among the Ngoni. Formerly wealth had been associated with political power, and the Paramounts and their subordinate chiefs and heads of clans had command of large herds of cattle, received the spoils from wars and raids, and used the labour of conquered villages to cultivate the land. After the missions and government were established, men with schooling began to earn money as teachers, clerks and mechanics, and so to command financial resources which were not available to the traditional leaders. The young men responded to the labour recruitment which became a permanent feature in Nyasaland from the 1890s, and they went far afield to many types of work.

It was evident, just before World War II, that the Ngoni kingdoms had had a profound shock from which they never fully recovered, in spite of the recognition of their Paramount Chiefs by the Native Authorities Ordinance in 1934. The older men looked back with nostalgia to what they called 'the time of peace, when the Europeans were not here to trouble us'. These older men were known as 'the generation of former days', because they had taken part in warfare

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

as young men, and had known the independence and supremacy of the Ngoni kingdoms. The expression 'everything is finished now' was often on their lips, especially when faced by new demands from the government, or by rebellious attitudes from their former subject peoples.

'The middle generation' was the term applied to the men who had as children known the Ngoni kingdoms in their prime. Though they had never fought as warriors nor been enrolled in an age-regiment, some of them had gone to the wars as young boys, carrying the gear for their older brothers. Many of these men, especially in the North, came under the influence of the missions, and became teachers, clerks, ministers and hospital assistants, married Christian wives and brought up their children in Christian, but Ngoni Christian, families. These men never lost their attachment to the Ngoni way of living, and many of them had made a successful synthesis of the old and the new ways. They stood, as they said, 'between' the generations, for they knew and understood both sides of an immensely different way of living and standard of values. Their children were 'the generation of today', who had no personal experience of past Ngoni ascendancy, and who took mission schooling and working for wages as a normal feature of their life.

When I lived in Ngoni villages, such as those described briefly in this chapter, Ngoni values and attitudes dominated social relationships. There was a determined struggle on the part of all responsible for child training to inculcate these Ngoni ideas and ways of living. The senior men and women were aware of the constant and increasing infiltration into their way of living of ideas, attitudes and behaviour coming from other ethnic groups in their midst. In addition their culture was being undermined by European influences in the schools, in the money economy, and from modern political developments, emphasizing an all-Nyasaland sentiment rather than loyalties based on ethnic grouping. Ngoni pride of race, and a consciousness that they had a

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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178 culture worth preserving, inspired them to put up a fight
829 against all that threatened the values inherent in their way
177 of living. It was perhaps the struggle of a disappearing aristocracy. But Ngoni fathers thought that the principles of education on which they brought up their children were worth a struggle.

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answers to them somewhere, then there have been some vital omissions in the narrative.

Clues to this study

In relating this study to other field studies and analyses of socialization techniques and processes, I have not attempted to present here any general assessment of similar or related studies, much less any review of the field as a whole, since I have touched on both in earlier publications.[1] Instead I have brought into this chapter one or two clues or guide lines from other sources which seemed to me to elucidate some of my problems, particularly in regard to four main aspects of this study, which have already been mentioned in Chapter I and which to a large extent set the limits and determine the emphases of this book. The 'true Ngoni' were a society within a society, a distinct cultural group within the Ngoni kingdom. This society of theirs had sharp edges, definable and recognizable limits, and that partly accounted for their own awareness of themselves as distinct from, though at so many points connected with, the neighbouring peoples. Their culture, that is their way of living within this society, had definite values which they strove to maintain, and this was one of the reasons why the ideal Ngoni personality pattern, and their endeavour to see it reproduced in each child, was easy to recognize. In order to safeguard their society and maintain their culture they exercised a fairly rigid social control over the upbringing of their children, which resulted in something approaching a 'system' of training and educating children. Set against this conservation of traditional values however was the reality and extent of changes due to external circumstances mentioned at the end of Chapter I. In the face of these changes the Ngoni showed that they could adapt some of them to their own purposes, and they made use of the schools, for example, once they approved of them, to help adjust their

[1] See Appendix (i)

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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177 society and particularly their children to new ways of living and thinking. These then are the four aspects of the study 121 for which I sought clues: awareness of their society, definite cultural values, social control of bringing up children, adaptation to external change.

114 In alluding to the following authors and the ways in which they furnished clues for this study, I hope it may lead 121 readers to consult the full works for themselves, and indeed to explore others which can be found in any good bibliography on socialization or on personality and culture. Over many years I have read and re-read Ralph Linton's *The Cultural Background of Personality*, in order to throw light on my own studies and to illustrate my lectures. When assembling the material for this Ngoni study I welcomed and followed up his thesis that 'some groups are much more conscious of the existence of culture and much more prone to generalize about behaviour than others'. That and other passages certainly helped to throw light on the Ngoni awareness of their own culture and their articulateness about behavioural training.

Linton also assisted me, though I did not completely agree with all his analysis, in placing cultural values in their relation to the accepted personality patterns. I used here other clues, and notably those provided by Monica Wilson in her book *Good Company* and John Whiting in his field manual for studies of child training. The Nyakusa values, brought out so clearly by Professor Wilson, I was able to compare with Ngoni values. Among the Nyakusa, 'good company', dignity, display, decency, wisdom, were constantly stressed and behaviour on these lines was commended by adults. The Nyakusa were a homogeneous and secure people, whose system of age-villages was unique among the surrounding peoples and a powerful force in maintaining and developing socially desirable forms of behaviour. Dr Whiting, in his field study manual, suggests eight 'systems of behaviour' for field workers to observe and classify in terms of individual

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mother's household if the mother showed obvious signs of being a 'bad character'. They might take the child away and put her with some relative of acknowledged 'good character', in the hope of offsetting the effects of heredity by careful training.

In later childhood and especially on the threshold of adulthood, as we shall see in Chapters VI and VII, boys and girls were expected to learn and practise traditional Ngoni skills and to be conversant with traditional Ngoni knowledge. Skills and knowledge, or rather the ability to use them, might be inherited from a parent, but they were generally regarded as acquired qualities. In any case, they needed careful training and direction in order that they might be fully developed.

Ngoni cultural values

After the Scottish Mission had been in North Nyasaland for some time, and the Bible and other Christan literature had been translated into the vernacular, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* became one of the most popular and widely read books in Ngoniland, both by older children and by adults. The reason was that its imagery portrayed so many ideas and situations which the Ngoni recognized as being relevant for them in the new world to which they had to adapt themselves. It became for Ngoni Christians, and for many others too since it was told far more often than it was read, a new kind of folk-tale, and was told as such to children in school and in the villages. The themes of striving towards a goal, and fighting lions and giants on the way, and listening to good advice as well as hearing bad—these and other themes were recognized as in the Ngoni tradition although in such a different setting.

In the final chapter of this book we shall talk about personality and character among the Ngoni, looking at the ideas of basic personality as set out by Linton and others, and trying to see how training at different stages of childhood had been converging towards the ideal personality of the Ngoni

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small bitter thorn apple and mixing in castor oil. This was applied with a feather to the baby's navel.

When the cord dropped the baby's head was shaved, and the mother shaved a little hair round her temples. Then they washed carefully, using sweet-smelling soapy leaves, oiled the baby's skin, put on clean clothes, and came out of the hut door and sat on a clean mat outside. This first public coming out of the hut took place in the late afternoon, so that the men, after their work was finished, could come to 'salute the new stranger'. The husband and his brothers were the first to come, and this was the first time he had seen the baby. They brought small presents such as a fowl or a basket of flour, and always strings of beads which were tied round the baby's wrists and ankles, neck and waist. The word used for these little gifts was 'to give a present just for pleasing', and Ngoni Christians when speaking of such presents to new babies likened them to the gifts brought by the Magi to the infant Christ.

While the husband and his immediate kinsmen came to greet the baby at the hut door, the senior men of the village stayed by the gate of the kraal. After the cattle had come back that evening and the kraal gates were shut, the grandmother carried the baby to the gate and presented him to the senior men who responded by giving small presents to the child. This was always done if the baby was a boy, but sometimes omitted for girls.

When small children seeing the new baby on its mother's lap asked where it came from, they were always told that the mother had found it by the river in the rushes on the bank. The object of this reply, so Ngoni women said, was to hide the secret of birth from the children and stop them asking further questions. The Ngoni culture pattern of childhood innocence required that children should be kept in ignorance of birth and sexual intercourse while they were young. By adults therefore they were put off with stories of finding the baby on the river bank. As usual, however, in

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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young wife, an Ngoni husband would not normally support her against his own mother. In the case of his child, who was born a member of his family, house and clan, his mother and her circle of senior women had uncontested sway.

The second features of Ngoni social organization which the 'arrival of a new stranger' demonstrated was the women's interest in and capacity for planning and organization. The senior women had no doubt about what steps to take and who should take them, from the time when labour began till after weaning. The preparations for the birth, the receiving of the child, the care of mother and baby after birth, the ritual cleansing of the hut, the presentation of the child to the public—all these acts up to and including weaning were planned with what seemed an elaborate organization when first observed, but which turned out to be standard Ngoni practice. Two particular aspects of this organization stood out as different from the local practices: the provision for artificial feeding of the child, and the role played by nurse girls and women helpers.

The main variants in this pattern arose from three causes: the effect of marriage with women of other ethnic groups who married into Ngoni families and had to accept the pattern of authority imposed by the house organization of Ngoni women. They therefore had to follow in its main lines the procedures we have described for the birth and care of infants. But Ngoni men and women deplored in particular two non-Ngoni elements which were creeping into the conduct of birth and post-natal ceremonies. One was the attitude taken during difficult labour when the women attending to the mother tried to force her to confess to illicit sexual relations which the non-Ngoni believed to be the cause of the delayed birth. The other was the prohibition on a wife putting salt in the food she was cooking while she was menstruating or at any other ritually unclean period. The true Ngoni despised this salt taboo and the women of Ngoni families did not practise it.

CHILDREN OF THEIR FATHERS

591 184 844 [614] Changes in residence at and after marriage influenced the composition of the group of relatives who assisted at births. In the central kingdom daughters of leading men in the village often stayed in their father's village at marriage. Hence the father's sisters were often present at the birth and the wife's mother and her sisters might be living in the village. If the wife belonged to a higher ranking Ngoni clan than her husband, her relatives shared responsibility with those of the husband's family.

177 844 [759] [606] As may be imagined the struggle between mother-in-law control and western medical practices at childbirth was a protracted one. Even when there was a younger member of the husband's family trained as a nurse or midwife, she by no means had her way in organizing the conduct of the birth. She might introduce a few hygienic measures such as clean cloths instead of old rags, and sterilized thread for tying the cord. But unless the senior women were frightened, and they seldom were, by prolonged and difficult labour, the Ngoni families were averse to taking a young mother into hospital. The chief reason was the challenge to the authority of the mother-in-law, especially when the younger women who had some knowledge of western medical practices questioned the advice of the senior women.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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primarily within his mother's household, but also, and especially immediately after weaning, in his grandmother's household. His needs for food and warmth could in fact be met in any of the households which formed part of his father's house and family group. There was no greater contrast for the small boy about the age of seven between this kind of life in the women's compound and his plunge into the life of the boys' dormitory.

The father's role with young children

During day-time in Ngoni villages Ngoni men and women lived almost in two separate worlds, the women in their compounds, the men by the kraal gate or about the village. When important visitors arrived the veranda of the 'big house' became a general meeting-place. Chiefs and leading men who had acquired chairs, among other modern household furniture, preferred to entertain their guests on their own veranda where they had some degree of privacy, and to offer them chairs to sit on instead of the kraal fence to lean against. This use of chairs which they found more comfortable to sit on brought many of the fathers of families back to their own verandas now and then during the day, though they continued to eat their meals with the other men at the kraal gate, and to go there to discuss village affairs and watch over the coming and going of the cattle.

This change of habit brought the fathers of families into closer touch with their young children, and it was accelerated by the growing Christian tradition in which fathers were more closely associated with certain aspects of their children's upbringing. It was the father who arranged for the baptism of the children which took place in the local church and was a ceremony attended by most of the village, whether Christians or not. When an evangelist or a school-teacher conducted evening prayers, as they often did near the kraal where anyone could come after the evening meal, Christian fathers sometimes carried a child in their arms to the prayers.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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the qualities required in self-defence and in mutual aid which he would need when, at the age of eighteen or so, he was called up into the new regiment formed by the Paramount. Dormitory life was therefore rooted in the Ngoni past and though its original purpose and outcome had disappeared with the suppression of tribal wars, it was still part of the organization for herding cattle and was regarded as a necessary training ground for young manhood. In very large villages there was more than one dormitory, each placed in a section of the village surrounding a cattle kraal. Boys belonged to the dormitory of that section where their parents' household was situated. There were occasional attempts sponsored by certain missions to set up a separate dormitory for boys who were baptized Christians or in an inquirers' class. This kind of separation was greatly disliked by the Ngoni on the grounds that they did not want anything to divide their people. They regarded dormitory life as an important co-ordinating factor in their young peoples' development, and they did not want the tradition to be spoiled. They therefore opposed any sectionalizing of the dormitory system except on the geographical lines already mentioned, which allowed for the full operation of the two remaining purposes of the dormitory in Ngoni culture.

The first of these purposes was to remove boys, once they had their second teeth, from the influence of the women. Ngoni men were outspoken in condemning the effects of all women's influence on boys. They made a slight exception in favour of the mothers and grandmothers of high-ranking Ngoni clans. Non-Ngoni women they always suspected, and often rightly, of introducing youths and girls to ideas and practices which were contrary to Ngoni custom, particularly in connexion with sex and magic. It was partly a belief that dormitory life would 'Ngoni-ize' the boys and counteract non-Ngoni influences from whatever source that made them so unyielding about boys leaving the women's supervision at what they considered a crucial stage.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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behaviour especially to elders, and to enforce by dramatic and sometimes brutal means a submissive attitude towards authority. That objective, as we have seen, was carried out by the Ngoni throughout their training of their children, from the earliest age upwards. They were half amused and half scandalized at the idea that young people had to be put in a camp in the bush in order to teach them how to behave.

Cultural changes in the assumption of adult roles

It is necessary to look back for a moment to the Ngoni past in order to see how changed external conditions in Nyasaland had altered the sequences and the timing of the process by which youths and young girls were recognized as adults. The stages of arriving at social maturity had been speeded up by cultural changes. In the days of warfare the senior herd-boys, from about twenty years of age, were called up at irregular intervals to form a new regiment. From this time they were known as 'young men' or 'youths', and they fought in the tribal wars for five years. In the off-season, during the rains when raids were not carried out, they were called to clear and cultivate the gardens of the Paramount and chiefs, and to help build houses and fence cattle kraals. At approximately the age of twenty-six to twenty-eight they were ordered to take the head-ring, the form of dressing the hair which formerly marked a married Ngoni man, and they were told they could marry and retire from the army. The older Ngoni declared that young men were not allowed to sleep with girls at all until they joined the army. Even then the relationship had to be initiated by the girl expressing her preference for a lover, and then sex relations were limited to partial intercourse. It was at marriage, after having been given the head-ring, that Ngoni youths were called 'men'. They moved out of the dormitory and built a hut for their wives in the area behind the huts belonging to their father's house. The cattle handed over on their marriage to the bride's family were taken from the herd belonging to that house.

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177 561 464 The cessation of warfare, the coming of schools and of a money economy, the urge to find wage-earning work and the opportunities offered by the labour recruiters to emigrate —these were a series of events which radically altered the prospects and outlook of young men. The effect of schooling, [871] if taken seriously, and most Ngoni fathers saw that their sons [434] at least attended regularly, was to equip boys of sixteen or [583] seventeen or even younger to go and get wage-earning jobs. This urge to earn money, in addition to meeting demands for taxes, was strengthened because the cattle to be handed over at marriage had now to be bought from other herds, or at least eventually replaced by purchase, instead of, as formerly, being captured in war. The young men therefore felt that [885] earning money was essential, and finding a job was regarded as a sign of manhood in much the same way as joining a regiment had been. After warfare ceased, and taking the headring was given up as a mark of full manhood and mature status, there was no longer any prohibition on marriage until [582] a certain age had been reached. The limiting factors in the age of marriage became economic ones instead of military and social ones. Young men whose fathers were able to provide the cattle for the marriage transfer, were able to marry from the age of about eighteen upwards, build huts for their wives, escape from living a bachelor existence in the dormitory, and then go off and find work by emigrating, if no [167] wages which they considered adequate were to be earned in the neighbourhood. These young men then could emerge from the group known as 'youths' at any age from eighteen upwards as soon as they married. If they left the village to find work before they married, they left from and returned to the dormitory, and were still known as youths. Their emigration after marriage, usually after the wife was pregnant and they had 'put a child in the hut', presented the picture familiar in areas such as Enkodlweni of villages almost stripped of their young men, and of young wives living alone in their huts among their husband's relations. The practice of

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returning from work in the south about every two years or so, even if it was only for temporary residence in the village, mitigated, though only to some extent, the social disintegration and upheaval caused by the absence of so many young men.

In pre-European days, girls waited to marry for five to ten years after attaining puberty. For high-born Ngoni girls a further 'pre-marriage' ceremony and ritual took place immediately before marriage. This was after the girl and young man accepted by her as a 'lover' had been courting for some time but before any formal betrothal took place which involved the approach of the two families through intermediaries, and the discussions about the transfer of cattle. The Ngoni said that this pre-marriage rite was the equivalent for the girls of taking the head-ring for the men, because when it was held it was a public declaration that marriage was now possible for the girl, and she was acknowledged as having reached adult, that is married women's, status.

This ceremony began by the senior women of the girl's home sending for her father and saying to him: 'This child is now grown up. She is ready to be prepared to enter the state of adulthood.' One of the Ngoni names for the ceremony meant—'staying in the hut as if fasting'—a ritual practice associated with rain-making by the Paramount, and with taking 'medicines' for strengthening a new Paramount or chief on his accession. The girl, with her companion, spent two or three days in a hut, hidden behind upright mats curved so that no one could see round them. They were naked except for a long soft leather cloak worn over one shoulder and tied under the right arm. During this seclusion they had food brought to them by the senior women of the girl's house. While the girls were hidden away the village women cooked quantities of meat and brewed beer to entertain friends and relatives of the girl's father. During the feasting and drinking the senior women, with the men, danced the special dances and sang the songs associated with this ritual. Some of

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the songs had veiled allusions to sexual intercourse and sex organs but the majority were songs recalling historical events. Others warned young wives against jealousy and strife in polygamous households, and these again were couched in veiled language, because the Ngoni preferred allusive references to anything touching on sex life.

When the girl and her companion emerged from the hut of seclusion, they were fully dressed in a short leather skirt, cut on a circular pattern, and a long leather cloak often trimmed with a fringe of tiny brass bells or small copper beads which were heirlooms belonging to the girl's father's house. The girl who was known as the 'owner of the pre-marriage ceremony' wore strips of meat strung together like beads hanging over her chest. The fat from the kidneys (always used in Ngoni ritual) was twisted into a necklace, and the skins of cows' tails, flayed and spread out were worn hanging from the waist, one in front and one behind. At the close of the ceremonies the skins and fat used for ornament were burned by a stream and the ashes swept into the water —again a typical Ngoni ritual act.

In one sense this ritual was a form of social announcement that the girl was now ready for marriage, and the marriage negotiations and full marriage ceremony followed soon after. It was also a way of emphasising the father's pride in his daughter, and he showed it by the lavish feasting and beer, by the standard of performance of the dances and songs and by decorating the girl with meat, fat, and skins from the cattle of his house. This was the last act he performed on behalf of his daughter, for the actual marriage ceremony took place at the bridegroom's village. It showed him as a man of substance, because only rich men and leading men could afford the outlay. It also showed the girl as a virtuous woman, for the ritual was never performed unless the girl was a virgin, and the senior women had been able, after examining her, to say to her father: 'Her cattle are full.'

This ritual was given up about the time the missions began

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to establish their hold. The Ngoni elders said the missions did not like it, and alleged that they gave it up for this reason. But they held on to other rituals also not approved by the missions, and it was probably largely due to the fact that there were no longer large herds of cattle to provide lavish feasts. The songs were remembered and sung by the older women when dancing the special dances associated with the ritual, holding in their hands short rods and small rounded shields, and making stiff jerking movements of head and elbows. Such dances as were put on for me were however a relic and not a living tradition. For the Ngoni girl of good family there was no longer any intervening ritual between her private puberty ceremony and the marriage ceremony.

The marriage age of girls, like that of men, was much earlier than formerly, the most usual age being from sixteen upwards. Most of the older women held that this left very little time in which to teach girls all that they were expected to know before being married and leaving their own home and their father's village for good. This was a particular cause of anxiety to the senior women in areas where the young men emigrated soon after marriage, and where the girl had to maintain her own position and reputation among his relatives without his companionship and support.

Young adults in Ngoni society

We have just seen that cultural changes coming from the outside radically altered the traditional pattern of development of Ngoni youths and girls. The net result of these changes was to telescope the period between physical maturity at puberty and full adult status at marriage, to squeeze the former eight to ten years of this intervening period into about two for the girls and four at most for the youths. This shortened period of preparation for full adult life raised a number of problems for the Ngoni elders. They were aware, as was suggested in the beginning of this chapter, that the attainment of physical maturity called for some re-alignment

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of the emphases in training boys and girls. This was especially the case in the regulation of relations between the sexes, but new emphases were also needed in the knowledge and competence of young adults before setting up their own households. Boys and girls from this stage onwards were in fact in Ngoni culture thought of as young adults. They had passed out of childhood through the physical change at puberty, and though for a year or two that made little difference in their way of living, they were now regarded as in training for what lay ahead of them. For that training the senior members of their father's family still felt responsible and exercised control. But the emphasis in the training given was on what adults should know, how adults should behave, what adults should be able to do. For the rest of this chapter we shall follow up the new emphases in guiding and to some extent controlling relations between the sexes, and in the following chapter the emphases on cultural knowledge and on technical skills.

In the all-important sphere of heterosexual relations, there were certain social controls among the Ngoni which operated in the selection of a mate and in the form of courtship leading to marriage. Prohibited sex relations and prohibited marriages set up a pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters, between parallel cousins, and between members of the same clan, and in former days the prohibition had extended also to the children of men of the same regiment. In selecting a mate the Ngoni preference was for someone in another village, for someone of an equal ranking or higher clan, and among Christian families for a young man or girl either already baptized or under instruction. This last preference, urged strongly by the missions and by Christian parents, was often difficult to reconcile with the preference for a high-ranking clan connexion. This was illustrated in the case of a young teacher, whose parents were Christians. He found himself being given contrary advice about choosing a wife. His father died, and his grandfather, an ex-

THE THRESHOLD OF ADULTHOOD (1)

The missionaries, and through their influence Ngoni Christian teachers and ministers, tried to put a stop to this form of courtship. It was very difficult to convince Ngoni elders and young people that a practice which had been considered socially correct and was under some measure of social control, was now wrong and must be given up. They saw it as something quite distinct from casual and promiscuous intercourse, which they discouraged and despised. A young Christian teacher, speaking of his own youth, said: 'The Christian rule forbade boys and girls to sleep together at night and to play as our fathers played. We did not keep these rules, and we visited girls at night who wanted us, but we were careful not to harm them.' The Ngoni Christian leaders who were aware of the problems on both sides finally threw their weight into advocating much earlier marriages while supporting the carrying out of the private puberty rituals. As we have seen, marriage became usual at about sixteen for girls and from eighteen upwards for youths. This as a rule, though not invariably, ensured that the girls were virgin at marriage which was a very strict Ngoni requirement. But it brought in its train a number of other difficulties which we shall discuss in the next chapter.

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or other pregnant announcement: 'Listen. Do you hear? The chief says there is a great matter being discussed. It is not here but elsewhere. The case is very important.' Then the women took their poles and struck the tall wooden pounding mortars with resounding blows. A Ngoni elder commented to me: 'Listen. They are washing the moon from its clouds, so that it may come out of the darkness and shine again.' The event was curiously reminiscent of an eclipse during my stay in an Indian village when pots were struck 'to wash the moon'.

Reckoning of numbers

The Ngoni used tens as units in counting. They began with the right hand clenched, like the fist they raised in the traditional greeting. One by one they raised from the bent-in position the thumb and each finger in turn, and then did the same with the left hand. When they reached ten they struck one hand against the other with all the fingers extended and said '*ikhumi*' (ten), and for twenty, thirty and so on they struck their hands together the correct number of times. For one hundred they used the word '*ikulu*', but it was generally agreed that this had not been in their original counting terms, but had been brought in when the Zulu Bible came to them with the first Scottish missionaries.

Ngoni history

To a people like the Ngoni whose remembered past was one of migrations, conquests and settlement in a new country, their history was no dead verbal record but a living reminder of their past achievements, and of their cultural and political differences from the people around them in Nyasaland. There were many occasions in Ngoni village life, especially in the villages of chiefs and heads of leading clans when recitals of history took place. Frequent references were made to historical events in songs, court cases, when visiting Ngoni came, in the vernacular readers used in the Scottish Mission

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schools, in sermons by Ngoni ministers in the churches. Fathers gathered their children together, boys and girls, on such occasions, and said to them: 'Listen. Do you hear? This is about our people from the beginning. Remember well. Do not forget, for the Ngoni cannot forget their past.'

A young man of about twenty related to me how his father, the head of a leading clan, used to talk to him about the Ngoni past when they went on hunting trips together on Mount Chuma, where Paramount Mbelwa and his Ngoni had first settled in Northern Nyasaland. In among the dry grass the father showed the boy the sites of former villages, the polished floors and the sturdy door-posts of the huts, and the stumps of the kraal fences. He heard in that historical setting the story of one of the famous secessions from the main Ngoni kingdom. 'Early one morning,' said his father, 'we woke up, we who remained, and we saw that Giwere had gone. All the people shouted "Giwere has separated from us. He has separated indeed. Our Paramount is poor because of his departure."'

It was largely through their own efforts that the Ngoni succeeded in teaching their history to their children in the schools. More than one Ngoni leader who had been educated by the Scottish Mission began writing the history of his own people, and in their villages I found several young men recording in writing the traditions as told them by their grandfathers. One Ngoni minister, Rev. Y. M. Chisambo, for twenty years systematically recorded and checked and compared these traditions. His books in the local vernacular were used as readers in the mission schools, and later translated into English as *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*.

Sermons in church by Ngoni ministers not only referred to historical events which were illustrated in songs or recorded in oral traditions but to the role of the famous diviners, called prophets, 'dreamers of the head', who foretold the advent and manner of arrival of the Europeans. The Ngoni Christian leaders went further than this. They used the

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parallel of the Jews of the Old Testament preparing the way for the Christian era to illustrate and drive home their belief that they, the Ngoni, had prepared the way for the Christian Gospel in Nyasaland. 'Were we not also a people who hated idols and images? We too tried to reach the Great God through our ancestor spirits, but we failed, until the mission came to teach us.' 'We held together the people of this land under one rule so that the missionaries could travel safely and spread the Gospel teaching.' These beliefs were stated so often that they became almost standard formula, and the incongruity of this picture with some of the warlike situations recorded by the earliest missionaries was ignored and forgotten. In the churches, where the people sat on mats, Sunday by Sunday, facing their Ngoni ministers, rising to sing, in their typical Ngoni harmonies, Christian hymns set to former Ngoni war tunes—in this setting Ngoni history was brought home, interwoven with the new teaching, to young adults who formed the majority of the congregation. For Ngoni elders it was something more than a reminder of their past. It was setting the Ngoni people in a special relationship to the European missionaries and the new learning, compensating for the passing of military power and political supremacy by establishing Ngoni cultural superiority over their neighbours. This gave some spiritual reassurance to a people in the throes of political change, and it was a lesson which lost none of its significance for the young adults who heard it.

Ngoni law

"There was one law for all the people. No one could be ignorant of the law." These were the words, quoted in Chapter I, which the Ngoni used frequently to describe the importance of law in their culture, its role in the political unification of their own and subject peoples, and the responsibility, laid on all adults, for knowledge of the law and conformity with its demands. An incident in a court of law, which was unforgettable to an anthropologist, was a case in which a chief sat

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round to protect the cow and calf, until they were strong enough to go back to the kraal. 868 233

The intricate system of ownership of cattle, including the relation between a house and a herd, and between certain herds and the spirits of former great people, was part of a herd-boy's background knowledge. He listened at the kraal gate to the men discussing questions of ownership. When a decision was taken to kill a beast, or sell one, or to transfer one or more at a marriage, or to hand over a beast in payment of a fine, the senior boys knew which group of beasts in the kraal must be driven out to be looked over in order that a selection could be made by the man concerned. [422] [825]

The Ngoni classified their cattle according to age, sex, colouring, size and shape of horns, whether castrated or not, whether in calf or not. Knowledge of the extensive series of names used for these 'classes' of cattle was part of a herd-boy's A.B.C. By the time he was old enough to be told to drive certain cattle out of the kraal, designated by their class, he knew exactly which ones were meant. He could also use the cattle terminology to be precise in telling an owner about a beast which had strayed or one that had a sore hoof, or one that was giving an exceptionally good or poor flow of milk. [192]

Herd-boys learned that cattle constituted a form of wealth, not only by the numbers a man possessed and could display, but also because they were easily realizable assets. Cattle could be sold to pay taxes, debts and court fines; and to pay men working for an Ngoni owner of cotton or tobacco gardens. They learned also that since cattle could be converted into money, the men of the house owning the cattle could use the money to buy cloth. This cloth, the property of the house, was kept and looked after by the senior women, who would lend it out temporarily to young men wishing to dress up smartly to go courting or go on a visit. [556] [432] [465] [249] [249] [292]

In the modern forms of Nyasaland economy it was a 177 233 234

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177 natural translation for Ngoni young men to become butchers
233 and dairymen, if they could apprentice themselves to a rela-
234 tive, or if their father could put up the necessary capital outlay for starting independently. This conversion of knowledge and traditional skill into a channel offering higher rewards in cash incomes found the young Ngoni adult well prepared to earn his living.

Hunting

224 There was an aura of manhood and of distinction about all forms of hunting among the Ngoni. They did it because they enjoyed it, and not seriously to augment their family's food supply. There were two main corporate forms of hunting: the chase, when hare and deer were hunted with dogs; and killing lions and leopards. The first was the pursuit of a Ngoni gentleman which no one wanted to miss during the right season; and the second was the act of warriors defending themselves and their cattle and villages from marauders.

868 Ngoni boys in their herding days acquired some of the
224 skills needed later for hunting with the men. They made traps to catch birds from the hair of cows tails or smeared bird lime on branches. They developed great adroitness at hitting birds on the wing with knobkerries. In these pursuits, which for them were half fun, half to get bits of extra food, they were training their eye, learning to observe the habits of birds and small animals, learning to track them, and developing that combination of patience, prompt action and accuracy of aim essential to successful hunting.

Some of the Ngoni men liked to go off hunting on their own, usually those who had a gun. Fathers used to take their sons on such hunting trips, and use the opportunity to teach them how to track successfully, how to put up with hunger and thirst on long marches, how to load and fire a gun. One young man described how his father used to point out to him on such trips the birds and butterflies in the bush. On one trip his father taught him to use his muzzle-loading gun, how

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having finished their task, and going off to wash in the river with more whistling and singing.

Specialized crafts

Ngoni elders said that in old days there were no specialists in the villages, except the iron workers who were mostly captured people, and that all men knew how to work in leather, wood, and fibres. By the time schools had been established and a variety of careers lay open to boys, it was rare to find ex-schoolboys taking up village crafts with a view to making a cash income from them. A few did, however, and their choice of a craft was attributed either to wishing to work with a relative, or to an inborn skill and liking for the craft. Tanning skins was one such craft, scraping them, rubbing in ashes and stretching them on frames. Cutting shields from skins and interlacing the front with different coloured skins was considered a highly skilled job. Making wooden spoons, wooden meat dishes, headrests for pillows, hafts for spears and knives, and sheaths for knives, was carried on in most Ngoni villages by two or three specialists using small sharp axes. They were assisted by a youth or two who liked the work, showed some aptitude for it and enjoyed sitting by the kraal gate, intent on their job, but missing nothing of what was going on. In remote villages many men made mats and baskets for household use and for sale and paid their taxes from such sales. Every man knew how to make bark rope for binding loads, fastening the grass on roofs, tying up beasts.

Musical instruments were another specialized craft, inseparable from being a musician and knowing how to perform on them. Small hand pianos of strips of metal on a wooden base, single stringed and several stringed lyres strung over a hollow gourd—these were solo instruments to accompany songs. A boy might all of a sudden decide to make such an instrument and learn how to play it by assiduous practice.

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been warned ahead to pound maize and make yeast of 273
sprouting finger millet. They then embarked on a three-day cooking programme in large pots over a log fire in the compound. 'Sweet' beer with a low alcoholic content was drawn off after the first cooking, and the rest was left to simmer and ferment until it was of the correct thickness, flavour, and alcoholic strength.

Ngoni women's crafts

Formerly when the Ngoni used leather for clothing, their 281
women took over the skins after they had been dressed, rubbed in fat and oil to make them soft, and darkened them with charcoal made of maize stalks. They then cut and 294
sewed the circular skirts which had a number of gores. The 177
use of cloth, bought first from the Arabs and later from European and Indian traders, entirely replaced the former leather clothing, but senior Ngoni women still had a strong preference for a heavy dark blue cloth which they thought resembled the former leather.

Two special skills were maintained by high-born Ngoni 301
families and they carefully trained their girls in them. One [331]
was the use of beads, threaded and sewn together to form standardised geometrical patterns, many of which had particular significance as denoting a leaf, an eye, a horn of a cow. These beads of different sizes in strong colours of red, yellow, green, blue, as well as black and white, were made into headbands, wristlets, belts, collars, and the head 'waistcoats' worn by the men in their war-dances. Each Ngoni bride expected to take to her new home at least one fine basket which she had elaborately embroidered with beads in these standard designs.

The other skill to which we have referred more than once 302.
was that of beauty treatment. Ngoni women despised and disliked the local custom of facial markings and body markings. They treated their skin with clarified fat or butter, and [412]
combed their hair with long thorns or bone combs. After

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302 washing they applied the fat to their hair and combed it out, de-kinking it now and then with strips of bamboo bound tightly to the head. They scented their hair with the juice of sweet-smelling leaves, and dressed it formerly in the high chignon. As they gave that up, they took to wearing headcloths of different-coloured cloth so arranged that [301] headbands across the forehead could be worn. Ngoni girls needed no urging to take this beauty treatment very seriously, and before a big *ngoma* dance, gave it much time and thought.

554 Only the big wives and elder sisters of chiefs could wear
301 the necklace and headpiece of leopard or lion claws. They were the distinguishing mark of an Ngoni 'princess' or 'queen'.

The art of cleanliness

181 I have called this section an 'art' because the Ngoni took
356 an aesthetic pleasure in achieving and maintaining certain
515 standards in their homes and in their persons, which were
182 held up to young adults as being highly desirable. This emphasis on a particular kind of cleanliness, while putting up with much that was not clean in their surroundings, was only one of several inconsistencies in Ngoni culture. The appreciation of a desire for this kind of cleanliness had not [751] necessarily any connexion with hygienic cleanliness. It was more closely associated with the Ngoni love of orderliness and scrupulous attention to detail in the appearance of persons and places. It was also connected with what they regarded as comfort and good living. The effect of mission teaching about health and sanitation, and of government courses held for chiefs to instruct them in modern welfare measures, often caused confusion among Ngoni elders. Sometimes their traditional standards of cleanliness coincided with modern hygienic standards, and sometimes they did not. In any case it was seldom that Europeans recognized that the Ngoni had any standards to begin with, and they

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might be a chore but when it was done in the open it was also an advertisement of high standards.

The art of speech

The Ngoni believed that as boys and girls neared adult life they should be well drilled in the art of speaking, because it was regarded as a basic Ngoni characteristic. We have seen how adults watched children tossing riddles at each other to test, among other things, their quickness of speech. Girls had been watched telling stories to see how they held their audience and showed a sense of dramatic values in recitation.

In all the standardised forms of speech such as greetings, messages, announcements, responses, young adults were expected to speak clearly and correctly, without mumbling but not too loudly. When relating an event, such as a visit, a bull-fight, or when giving evidence in the courts, they had to give an orderly account without repetition. Otherwise they were told: 'You are speaking badly. Tell it again, in order, from the beginning.' An ordered sequence of the narrative was always demanded, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, they used proverbs frequently to impress on people speaking the need to get to the point, while leaving out nothing of importance.

The art of words used with music in songs was regarded as a special gift and those who possessed it were encouraged to develop it. Inspiration for words and music was as we have seen something which came 'from the chest' and was regarded almost as if it was a special kind of breathing. Some used this gift to sing with a solo instrument such as a stringed lyre. Others used it to compose new songs for agama dances. Others again wrote Christian hymns and composed music for them, or set them to traditional Ngoni tunes.

The art of dancing

'Ngoni people think that their dances show their personality, their manhood, that which was born in them.' Phrases like

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action of the hoe. 'They are our kin according to their eyes' was said as a reminder of misplaced trust in those who appeared to be helpful but were not really.

Readiness to take advice both from their age-mates and from older men was another quality held to be desirable in young men. Proverbs illustrating this were: 'He that refuses instruction will be surprised by blood,' and 'He remembers that he fell; he forgot that he was hurt.' As often with proverbs, there were others with a contrary emphasis which were sometimes used as a retort to the former ones, or in self-defence. 'The inheritance was eaten by those worthy of it' was intended as a rejoinder not to interfere in other people's affairs, when unwanted advice was offered. 'The body is felt by its owner' was sometimes said to encourage a man to stick to his own opinion. On the other hand a too abrupt rejoinder, especially to an older person, was regarded as discourteous, and onlookers said 'You cause the spittle to be dry' to express extreme disapproval.

Ngoni personality in a changing culture

The direction of the training of boys had been formerly towards military life, and towards the qualities which made effective fighting men, and emphasized loyalty to leaders and camaraderie in the regiments. This emphasis on military preparedness was however never the sole emphasis in Ngoni training, and hence when warfare came to an end, there remained traditional spheres of influence and activity which were an integral part of life in the Ngoni kingdoms, as well as new spheres of activity opened up by missions, the administration, the trading companies and the labour recruiters.

The traditional forms of activity were found in Ngoni local government which included the chief's administration and the courts of law; family and village affairs including the building up of herds and buying and selling cattle; and ritual life. The new kinds of activity included occupations such as teacher, minister, clerk, store assistant, houseboy,

463 foreman in charge of gangs of workers. All this last group
● 177 involved the earning, spending and sharing of money in-
[434] comes, but even more important in Ngoni eyes, they offered
[571] opportunities of exercising authority, and of controlling and directing others.

624 In local government and in the courts, which formed an
693 integral part of it, the qualities demanded were wisdom, ability to make decisions, expert knowledge of the law, skill in conducting cases and in summing up evidence, and knowledge of the people, so that their reactions to new measures and to difficult court decisions could be forecast. Certain
[827] women were thought of as inheriting this kind of judicial
[562] ability and were often turned to in private by their husbands, sons or brothers and asked to declare themselves in support of or against an important decision and to discuss its merits or demerits.

622 In choosing a successor to a chief the regents who were responsible for the selection looked for particular qualities of individual character as well as for evidence of the ideal Ngoni personality traits. Men who by right of inheritance could have succeeded their father were sometimes passed over because they showed characteristics which would make them a bad chief. This was one of the reasons why sons of leading men were watched so closely and corrected so sharply by the elders of a village who were noting their adjustment to the basic personality pattern as well as their individual character.

There were certain acknowledged ritual activities which demanded of the performer both a high degree of conformity to Ngoni personality patterns and special individual characteristics. On the death of a chief one of his sons or brothers was designated to become head of the 'elder' village which remained behind, when the new chief with some of the members of his father's 'house' moved out to found a new village. The 'one who stayed behind' as he was called was expected to be the epitome of all Ngoni qualities, and to have a good memory for, and an understanding of, Ngoni tradi-

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tion. In all the selection of individuals to 'enter the place' of an important person who had died, the new holder of the place had to measure up to Ngoni personality standards and be acknowledged as a 'good character'.

The new kinds of occupation open to Ngoni men as a result of education in the mission schools were of two main types: those where the holders of the job still lived in the Ngoni kingdom and carried on their work in the setting of a Ngoni village; and those which involved leaving the village and living and working outside Ngoniland, more or less out of sight and out of control of Ngoni elders.

Some of the mission teachers, ministers, and evangelists returned to live in Ngoni villages after they had completed their training, though others of course were posted elsewhere. In one of the villages described in Chapter I there had been in the early days of mission work fierce and continuous opposition to the opening of schools, as well as to the preaching of Christianity. I mentioned the old evangelist who had been threatened with death by the chief when he first took up his work. If he had left under those threats he would have lost out for ever among his people, for he would have been called a coward. He stayed, cultivated his land, grew his own food, was a great hunter, was respectful to the chief and elders, brought up his children to respect Ngoni traditions. He gradually gained the reputation of being brave, a 'gentle' man, a powerful and fluent speaker in the church on Sundays, a man of wisdom and judgement, and he was constantly asked for his opinion on village affairs. Most of the village, Christian and non-Christian alike, went to the church service on Sundays, sang the Ngoni hymns, listened to his sermons in the Ngoni language, sprinkled with Ngoni proverbs and illustrated by episodes from Ngoni life and history. Very few people in that village over twenty-five years old were Christians, but the leading Ngoni families allowed him to baptize younger and older children and to instruct them in Sunday-school. The Ngoni elders contributed to the

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 church funds in cash or in kind, and helped to build the
797 church and school.

The younger headmaster of the school had never been
159 threatened with death. He came in on the tide of recognition
875 and respect accorded to the character and behaviour of the evangelist. His grandfather, like the evangelist's father, had been a well-known warrior with his own praise song celebrating his exploits. When the chief saw the exemplary
[622] behaviour of the headmaster and his Ngoni wife, listened to
[871] some of the lessons in school, watched the boys 'drill' in the playground, he ordered all Ngoni boys and girls in the village to attend school, and arranged a roster for cattle-herding, so that the boys would learn herding as well as their school lessons. He sent for the headmaster to report to him periodically on how the children were behaving, and which ones were showing particular aptitudes. The young headmaster showed characteristic Ngoni ability to organise his school, control his staff, demand and get good behaviour from the children. He was, like the evangelist, a huntsman of repute, and he was too a good dancer, and had a judgement in public affairs that was acknowledged to be beyond his years.

177 The aversion shown in the other Ngoni village described
797 in Chapter I to schools and to missions generally arose
871 partly from the fact that there were no Ngoni teachers or
186 ministers serving that area. The teachers in near-by schools were from a tribe whom the Ngoni despised and whose personal habits they deplored. The missions in the area had made no attempt to integrate schoolteaching and preaching in the churches with Ngoni life and thought. Some Ngoni fathers sent their boys to the Scottish Mission boarding-school in Blantyre, and were willing to pay the fees because they knew and believed in those in charge of that school.

871 Ngoni fathers, and this was true of both areas, expected
463 their boys who had been to school and had entered European
554 employment away from their homes, to find work which assured them a superior and not an inferior or unskilled

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

parents and the community, the children and the community, and the community and the school. There are a number of clues to follow in examining the different groups of people involved in a child's growing up, and discovering some kind of consistent pattern of relationship between them. The clues are not difficult to trace for they begin in such information as the amount of time a child spends with each group, what he learns from each group, how much authority and responsibility the group assumes for him, and so on. In this analysis it is not enough to relate each group to the children. It is important too to be aware of the personal relations between parents, relatives, community, school authorities, in terms of their opportunities for mutual contact and discussion, and their attitude towards culture change and cultural conservation. Out of such potential contacts arise the formulation of aims for home and school training, and their harmony or their conflict, and the resultant effects on the growing up of a child. (2)

These two lines to be followed up, which we have just indicated, are familiar to most teachers and to many parents. The third line arising out of this study, and common to most other studies of growing up, is related to research on personality and culture and on national character. This field of studies is more controversial and more complex than the former. In the case of the Ngoni they had a more or less distinct ideal personality rooted in their culture and answering the question: what kind of people are the Ngoni and how do they want others to regard them? This ideal personality was the goal of their child-training as described in this book, but it was in the process of being modified by school teaching, by Christian teaching, and perhaps more profoundly still by the growth of Nyasaland African nationalism. The sharp outlines of the ideal personality type of Ngoni men and women were already blurred by these political and educational developments. 577 177

For readers of this book the relevance of this aspect of /57

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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contributed by the whole nation, were not found among the Ngoni.

Informants are agreed that in the old days young men and women married whom they were told and never attempted to make their own choice against their parents' will. From evidence available this seems to be an oversimplification. It seems likely that individual choice mattered less in those days than it does now, but it cannot have been entirely inoperative. It is said that each regiment of men used to flirt with its corresponding women's regiment, and that marriages sometimes followed. Wiese says that among the aristocratic families a woman had the right to choose her own husband, but that this right was dying out and it was becoming the practice to marry off daughters so as to secure the most marriage cattle and maintain upper-class endogamy.[3] It is true that on the evidence of genealogies there do not seem to have been many marriages between very aristocratic women and the most recently captured men, and that therefore we are justified in assuming a tendency towards upper-class endogamy, but this tendency seems not to have been very strong and indeed there never was a clear-cut upper class but instead a method of ranking families in terms of ethnic origin. My informants never suggested that a man would marry his daughter so as to bring in as many cattle as possible, and it seems unlikely that this was ever a common motive.[4]

A girl was expected to be chaste before she was married. From the procedure adopted by the Zulu and from information from other Ngoni groups, it seems likely that girls were examined at marriage to check that they had not been deflowered. Rattray records this among the Ngoni of Southern Nyasaland,[5] and Read makes a similar statement.[6] My own informants had such faith in the sexual rectitude of the past as contrasted with the promiscuity of the present that it was difficult to establish what they really thought happened. It seems that unmarried people were allowed intercourse *inter crura* and that this was considered not a violation of chastity. The whole question has been obscured by the conflict of values between the South-Eastern Bantu leaders, whose view appeared to have prevailed at the time, and the recent captives from the Cewa and kindred peoples, who believed that a girl would die if she did not copulate at puberty. We shall see the outcome of this conflict when we come to discuss modern marriage.

As might be anticipated in a system in which marriage is a transfer of fertility, a wife was expected to be fertile. If she was barren special procedures were adopted to validate the substance of the marriage. A man could appeal to his wife's relatives for another

[3] Wiese, op. cit. 'Expedition . . .', p. 473 and 'Geschichte . . .', p. 191.
[4] See below, p. 120.
[5] Rattray, *Some folk-lore stories and songs in Chinyanja, with English translation and notes*, S.P.C.K., 1907, p. 113.
[6] Margaret Read, 'The moral code of the Ngoni and their former military state', *Africa*, xi (1938), p. 6.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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[P.17]

CHAPTER II

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

1. White conquest

THE SOCIAL system which we have so far described flourished in an environment in which the Ngoni people were separated from other tribes by a no-man's-land. Ngoni raiding parties crossed this tract and returned with captives, food and some cattle. The only other contacts with the outside world were with Arab slave-traders and their agents who exchanged slaves and ivory for cloth and guns, and with a few white and half-caste traders and explorers. In 1898 the Ngoni army was defeated by a force under British leadership and many villages were burnt down. Very many of the cattle were looted and the people dispersed. A White township was built in the middle of the Ngoni kingdom, the warriors were disarmed, and an administrative system was established involving both Whites and Ngoni. Missionaries arrived, schools were opened, labour recruiters and later tobacco planters began their activities.

We are not concerned here with the total effect of this sequence of events but only with the results it has had on marriage. We can distinguish a number of fields in which processes initially external to the indigenous society began to impinge on it and to become part of it. The establishment of White control brought to an end the Ngoni wars. The building up of the Cewa chieftainships contiguous to Ngoni country affected the whole scheme of values held by Ngoni people at the same time as those values were being altered by the intrusion of White technology, political offices, legal concepts, and religions. The physical dispersion of the people in the face of the British troops was followed by a greater dispersion of men, and later of women and children as well, over the mining centres of Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt.

The large villages which formed the core of the residential system were burnt, and their inhabitants never all came together again. At first people lived in small settlements of three or four grass shelters built in the hills or in the bush. Gradually the people gathered together in distinct villages, but their population was different in structure from that of the former villages. The groupings of people which stayed together after 1898 represented the smallest fragments of the residential system, and those small fragments collected together into larger associations which were related to, but by no means coincident with, the larger segments of the old system. Some segments left the area and rejoined the tribes from whence they

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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came. Others followed maternal links or were attracted to the district messengers, the newly-created political agents of the White Administration. About 1912 the Administration adopted a policy of decreasing the number of distinct villages and effected amalgamations between villages which had nothing at all in common except spatial proximity. Later still, from about 1920 onwards, new immigrants began to enter the area from the surrounding Cewa tribe in the face of alienation of land to Whites.

These villages became the basic local administrative units. Men were identified in terms of their tribe, their chief, and their village. To this extent the new village inherited the political functions of the old. But men, instead of being fixed in their allegiance, moved from village to village seeking good land for their gardens and freedom from quarrels. The proliferation of villages was to some extent controlled by the Administration, so that if a man quarrelled with his elder brother he could no longer easily set up a village of his own. Instead he sought refuge with his maternal or affinal kin, registered himself in their village, and became for some purposes at least subordinate to the headman of that village. A man's political position was determined by where he had decided to live, whereas under the old system he had had to live where he belonged politically. The whole nature of affinal and maternal ties shifted so that in some instances they became more important than the ties of paternal kinship.

2. Rival tribes

The values of Ngoni life were in the old days held in conscious opposition to those of the tribes with whom they fought. All the later captives came from matrilineal uxorilocal tribes, who made only token transfers at marriage, and who married at an earlier age than did the military Ngoni. They did not take so severe a view of adultery, and for girls copulation at puberty was obligatory. Captives who had been brought up in this tradition were in the old days forcibly required to adopt the Ngoni way of life, and indeed it seems likely that to some extent they did so willingly as part of the process by which they transferred themselves in allegiance from one group to the other. After 1898 the central government of the Ngoni lost much of its power and it was no longer able to enforce conformity to Ngoni standards. Ngoni marriage payments had been made in cattle, and the looting of cattle made it more difficult to maintain these payments. The example provided by the adjacent Cewa chiefdoms reinforced the tendency to depart from the modes of behaviour of the past. Furthermore, groups of Cewa entered Ngoni country after 1898, as we have already noted, and these people had never been indoctrinated with Ngoni beliefs and values. In addition, many individuals followed their captured relatives and joined them where they were living in Ngoni country. To-day some villages, although under Ngoni chiefs, have matrilineal succession, dance

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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Cewa dances, speak Cewa, and are to a lesser extent internally organised on Cewa lines. They do not form a distinct class of village in Ngoni country, and are inextricably bound by ties of kinship with their neighbours. But there are fewer traces of the former pre-1898 system of organization in such villages than in those which have a remembered history linking them with the glorious past.[1]

3. Christianity

At the same time as Ngoni values were being undermined from within by the Cewa, they were attacked from without by the Whites. The first missionaries to settle in the area arrived in 1889, although there had been some earlier contact. They attempted to convert Ngoni to Christianity, and therefore to monogamy and pre-marital chastity. In chastity the missionaries were allied with the Ngoni against the Cewa; in monogamy the missions fought against Ngoni allied to Cewa. New rituals were introduced and a new hierarchy developed, composed of priests, evangelists and deacons. However, in this region, unlike much of the rest of Africa, the impact of Christianity has not produced a distinctive legal status of persons married by Christian rite. The Administration's earliest piece of marriage legislation was the *North-Eastern Rhodesia Marriage Regulations*, 1903.[2] There was specific provision for monogamous marriages between Africans, with penalties for bigamy and detailed rules for the division of property left by Africans married under these regulations and dying intestate. Few, if any, marriages involving Africans were made in this form, for it seems that the missions did not license themselves under the Regulations and their ceremonies therefore did not have legal significance to the Administration. These elaborate provisions were repealed by the *Northern Rhodesia Marriage Proclamation*, 1918.[3] Since then the only form of marriage performed within Northern Rhodesia between Africans that has legal significance in the eyes of the Administration is marriage 'in accordance with native law and custom'. What constitutes such a marriage has never been rigidly defined.

The missions themselves have differed in their attitude towards indigenous marriage. One mission insists that all 'customary obligations' must be fulfilled in addition to Christian rites, another holds that it is wrong to transfer wealth from one side to another in marriage, while a third holds that the fulfilment or not of any customary obligations is not the concern of the church. The Native

[1] Cf. Read, 'Tradition and prestige' and 'Moral code' for an account of some of these changes in structure and values, based on observations of three Ngoni kingdoms.

[2] Government Notice No. 2 of 1903, *British Central Africa Gazette*, 148, x, 1, 31 January 1903.

[3] N.R. No. 10 of 1918, *Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette*, viii, 11, 7 September 1918.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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brew beer when her husband asks her. In addition to this minimal amount of required co-operation, in many instances husband and wife have a great deal in common. They may go to church or visit a relative, or even go together to a beer party.

The obligation on a man to clothe his wife is the most clear-cut and obvious duty in marriage. It is the failure to clothe that is usually cited as evidence of desertion when a woman seeks a divorce. There is no specific standard to which he must clothe her, but she usually insists that she is not to be more poorly clad than are her neighbours. Clothes consisted in the old days of skins and barkcloth, but cloth was introduced by Arabs before the Europeans arrived, and was used as a form of currency by the early European settlers. A few people still wear skins, but only on top of Western clothing. There is no indigenous weaving, and all clothes have therefore to be bought in the shops.

The man takes the initiative in finding a hut in which he and his wife live, and it is he who undertakes the major work of repair. Houses, if made of bamboo, last for about twenty years, but require rethatching, while pole and mud huts last about eight years only. When a couple begin to live together they usually borrow an empty hut in the village, asking the man or woman who is looking after the hut if they can move in. No charge can be made for the loan of a hut. If the marriage begins uxorilocally, and the woman has previously been living in a dormitory, she may ask the other girls in the dormitory to go and sleep elsewhere until her husband can build her a hut of her own. The man does the work of marking out the site, digging the foundations, cutting the trees for the framework, and so on. All these are men's jobs, and he may be assisted in the work by his male neighbours and relatives. His wife gathers thatching grass, but the men do the actual thatching. The finishing of the house is entirely the wife's work, and she usually gets her friends and relatives to help her plaster the walls and floor. The maintenance of the plaster remains her responsibility and she ought to renew the floor every month after she has menstruated.

Every wife ought to have her own garden, and, sooner or later, her own storehouse. Most young people acquire gardens of their own long before they marry, but continue to pool the produce of the garden with the adult responsible for feeding them. This arrangement continues after marriage, and the incoming spouse at first merely assists in the garden of the other and is fed from the common storehouse of his or her parents or relatives. If a woman has been living with her grandmother and her husband comes to live with her, the couple draw on the wife's grandmother's storehouse for their food, and place the produce of the wife's garden in it. Similarly, in virilocal marriage, a woman may at first help in her husband's garden and draw from his mother's storehouse. But after a year or two, if a man is not to be despised as a sluggard, he must build a storehouse in the village where they have settled, and see that there is

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FRS Ngoni FRS
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a faithful woman whose husband stays away many years does not bear children, but they do not condone infidelity. The prolonged absence of men which leads to this unsatisfactory situation is seen as part of the disruption of the old order by the coming of the Whites. It is they who are responsible, both for the lack of children in marriages where the woman is faithful and for the occurrence of adultery in marriages where she is not. The virtue of bearing children and the virtue of fidelity are values in conflict and the Ngoni see only one solution, the ending of labour migration. This conflict appears with particular force when a man goes away leaving his wife pregnant. This action is in itself hazardous, for the man will not be there at the time of birth to confess his adultery, yet men do go away knowing their wives are pregnant. If a live child is born, it must be protected by the rite of 'taking up the child'.[19] If this is neglected the child may die, and it is in the interests therefore of the man's relatives as well as the woman's that it should be performed. The only consistent line of action is to ensure that the medicines which can be used as a substitute for the rite are available to the woman. These medicines are expensive, and relatives may be reluctant to find the money for them, particularly as the whole procedure is under the ban of the missions. The only other solution is for the woman to take a lover with whom she performs the rite. If they are caught, the excuse that they were sleeping together merely for 'taking up the child' is not accepted. Here the same conflict and the same attitude are seen as when a woman has an impotent husband.[20] To achieve a desirable end the woman must commit adultery; but woe betide her if she is caught in the act.

There is an important difference between the way in which the kinsfolk act at the level of village discussion and their behaviour later when matters are referred to the court. In the village they are fairly free to act without reference to the absent husband. They can give advice and can attempt to enforce mutually agreed damage payments of chicken, acting in the light of their opinion of what is in their own interest and in the general interest of their kinsman. They cannot deal in this way with divorce or with large damages for adultery. These matters must be referred to the court and here much more deliberate attention is paid to the wishes of the absent man. If a case of adultery is brought by the man's kin, the court enquires about the wishes of the husband in the matter. The husband's kin must produce a letter from him authorizing them to proceed against his wife and he must say in the letter whether he wishes to divorce her or merely to claim damages for adultery. The case is usually adjourned for three to six months while this is done. A woman who pleads for divorce on the ground of her husband's desertion is similarly told to write to him informing him

[19] See above, pp. 45f.
[20] See above, p. 34.

4: Barnes E-S (1946-1949)1951 FRS Ngoni FRS
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of maternal ties, the cleavage between sets of father's children is an expression more of their different matrilateral affiliations than of the different status of their mothers. A child will be sent to its own mother's mother rather than to its father's wife's mother, although some children do go to the latter. Samuel's children by his first and third wives [1] were reared by their father's fourth wife's mother, but they maintain contact with their own mothers' relatives.

These particular structural changes have taken place without any great conflict of values. It would appear that although polygyny was an essential feature of the old system, there was no idea that it was wrong to remain monogamous. Indeed in any community with a normal sex ratio, the majority of men must be monogamists and it is not surprising that monogamy is tolerated however much polygyny is the goal of ambitious men. Among the Ngoni the decline in polygyny over the last fifty years has not outraged traditional values. In like manner, we have seen that traditionally a man's mother and his wife's mother should share the rearing of his children. This division is in accord with the statement made frequently by aristocratic Ngoni that when distributing gifts a man ought not to favour his own parents more than his wife's. Both these injunctions indicate that even in 'the time of peace', however clearly a man's children by a wife for whom he had paid bridewealth belonged to his group and not to hers, the claims of a wife's kinsfolk and their interest in the children of the marriage were recognized. Ngoni say that children ought to live in their father's village, but this is a statement of the same order as the oft-reiterated remark that the Ngoni pay bridewealth. Ngoni make these statements because these are part of the index of their tribal identity, not because they have observed them to be true. The facility with which married couples live uxorilocally is no doubt partly due to the influence of the matrilineal uxorilocal Cewa and other tribes, but we cannot regard this as the only operative factor.

4. The moral significance of sexual activity

In the treatment of sexual activity in girls there does appear to be a certain moral dilemma. We have observed that the Cewa believed that a girl who did not copulate at puberty would die, and that the Ngoni held that a girl should be chaste until she was married, which was some time after puberty. The seclusion of girls was, and is, a matter arranged by women and one in which men have very little say. It may be on this account that the Cewa view has largely prevailed, for the Ngoni took many women captives and in the early stages of the migration from Natal there seem to have been more Ngoni men than women. The women were not so carefully indoctrinated into the Ngoni way of life as were men captives, for the women's regimental system was never as highly

[1] See above, p. 109

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni Maravi FRS

developed as the men's. It is to be expected, therefore, that there would be greater Cewa and Nsenga influence in those affairs controlled by women than in political and military matters, which were organised by men. This is borne out by linguistic evidence, for while many of the words, but not all, pertaining to affairs of state are of Ngoni origin, the words now used in the seclusion of girls are drawn from Cewa and Nsenga.

We find therefore that it is the bearing of children before marriage and to a lesser extent pre-marital impregnation which are disapproved of rather than pre-marital copulation. The real contrast in attitude is between pre-marital copulation and adultery. We have seen that in the old days adulterers were killed by order of the chief. The punishment of adultery was a process involving headmen, lieutenants and other important men. The abhorrence of adultery remains despite its great frequency and the prohibition on killing adulterers. An adulterer is a thief, stealing the rights of another man and endangering his marriage. Even when the wife of a labour migrant bears a child and it is in danger of *mdulo* until it can be 'taken up' (p. 87) she cannot openly call in a man with whom to perform this rite. She must either get a man to come in secret or obtain expensive medicines which remove the danger. In like manner, if her husband is impotent, there must be no public recognition of any extra-marital intercourse, for impotence is shameful and not to be admitted and cannot justify the intervention of another man. It is thought regrettable that a woman should grow old without bearing daughters to help her pound maize and sons to clothe her in her old age. Yet when medicines have been of no avail and her husband calls in a seed-raiser he must come in secret and later be rewarded covertly. Similarly the sexual activities of children must be conducted discreetly. Here, however, a much more tolerant attitude is taken and there is not the same need for secrecy. There is no chaperoning of unmarried girls but only of married women whose husbands are away. There is no inspection of girls at marriage, and one informant said that if after puberty a girl has no lover with whom she can sleep, her grandmother will call in a young man to copulate with the girl in the grandmother's house to see if she is proficient, and that for this he would be rewarded by the grandmother. From one point of view we may say that there is pre-marital freedom, with discretion, and marital restriction of sexual activity. Pre-marital intercourse does, however, have a moral connotation, and it is held that the girl who sleeps too easily with all comers before marriage will continue thus after she is married. The need for discretion in premarital affairs is in some part due to the activities of the missions, working at the village level through deacons, elders and women helpers. Yet in general no action is taken by the local Christian group in the village unless the pre-marital sexual activities of its members are conducted in such a way that it is no longer possible to ignore them.

Sexual intercourse is the critical activity of marriage. Within

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FRS Ngoni FRS Mpezeni

varying success in their other aims. The number of people with dozens of wives has decreased to zero, but this has been due to the operation of other factors as well as pressure from the missions. Whether the incidence of polygyny as a whole, that is the ratio of monogamist to polygynist men, has decreased is difficult to assess, since genealogical information is incomplete on barren wives and the wives of men whose descendants are now scattered. The fact that only six per cent of widows are inherited is due to the general change in the nature of marriage, the decline in the incidence of bridewealth, and the changed significance of residence, as well as to Christian endeavour. In these matters the general flow of events has been on the side of the missions. The same cannot be said for premarital copulation and for the ritual of 'taking up the child'. Censure from the mission is an additional hazard to be avoided in premarital intercourse, but it has not prevented it. In their opposition to the belief in *mdulo* and the ritual intercourse which follows as a consequence of the belief, the missions are aided by the teaching of hygiene and Western science in the schools, but there is no support from indigenous values. In this matter it is difficult to establish any trend, but the way in which attitudes are changing towards traditional mystical sanctions seems to be that the operation of the sanction is still believed in, but that the techniques for counteracting the sanction have been added to, so that the powerful medicines of Western civilization, particularly the sulphonamides, can be used to counteract the machinations of sorcerers. It does not seem likely that the belief in *mdulo* will disappear easily.

Thus in the system of values sustaining marriage, we find that there is some inconsistency. The teaching of the missions, the values associated with the old Ngoni way of life, and those deriving from the matrilineal tribes of the region conflict with one another on some points and support each other at others. The situations of the present day provide for considerable freedom of choice within these conflicting traditions, so that in one situation a man may adhere to the mission teaching in condemning the bigamy of another man in his village, and in another situation take part in the marriage negotiations for an additional wife for his chief, in accordance with the old Ngoni system of values. A man condones the secret lovers of his unmarried daughter, but when she becomes pregnant brings them to court with the approval of the mission.

6. *The transfer of rights*

The rights transferred from one group to the other by marriage payments in the old system were clearly defined. By the payment of 'snuff-box' the man's patrilineal kin group acquired rights *in uxorem* in the woman, and by the bridewealth they acquired rights *in genetricem*.[4] If the woman committed adultery after 'snuff-box'

[4] I have taken these terms from the interesting paper by Mrs. Bohannan on 'Dahomean marriage: a revaluation', *Africa*, xix (1949), p. 273 to indicate rights in a woman as wife and as mother respectively.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FRS Nguni FRS
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to the kin of the married couple however much the kin may intervene in the marriage and act on behalf of the couple.

The belief in the occurrence of such diseases as *mdudo* and *bupula* supports the values of Nguni society, and acts as a check on behaviour which is wrong in Nguni eyes. Beliefs in the efficacy of medicines do not have such a straightforward moral connotation, for in theory it is as easy for a man to harm the wife of someone else by the use of medicines, or for a woman to harm her co-wife, as it is for a man to harm his cuckold. Medicines can, therefore, be used for good or ill, depending on the intentions of those who manipulate them. Even the possibility of anti-social manipulation of medicines can, however, have a positive effect, as we have seen in the way in which a wife is encouraged to live demurely without attracting the attention of other men, lest when she spurns their advances they retaliate with medicines to harm her in childbirth. Old people like to maintain that in 'the time of peace' the Nguni did not use medicines at all, although from what we know of the Zulu and other South-Eastern Bantu tribes from which the Nguni came, this is almost certainly untrue. 'Our spears were our medicines', they say, meaning that when the state was powerful both internally and in relation to their neighbours, law and order and the wishes of the Paramount Chief could be enforced by physical sanctions. Only now, when the chieftainship has lost so much of its former power and men and women can do wrong without fear of punishment in the courts, is it necessary to fall back on mystical processes in an attempt to control other people's behaviour. By contrast the mystical diseases which can only be caught through sexually disapproved actions operated at both stages of Nguni history, although *mdudo* itself, unlike *bupula* and other similar conditions, appears to have been introduced by the Cewa.[1]

To a lesser extent the fear of venereal disease may be said to act as a stabilizing factor, since men admit that they are cautious in running after women on farms, in Fort Jameson and away in the big towns, because they fear syphilis. In the village an infected woman, if she cannot conceal her condition, is shunned by careful men, and a newcomer to the village who starts to flirt with her may be taken aside by an older man and warned of the risk of infection. It is an actionable offence for one partner in a marriage to transmit venereal disease to the other. Venereal disease is, however, commonly believed to be widespread and the fear of it cannot be said to be an efficient deterrent of adultery.

Despite the mystical safeguards and despite the fairly well defined rights *in usorem*, marriage is not regarded as a permanent bond. There is a maxim 'Never confide in your wife, for tomorrow you may divorce her.' Consanguinity is permanent and unchangeable and a man should confide in a brother rather than in his wife. The

[1] Cf. Read, op. cit. 'The moral code . . .', p. 7.

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In demarcating the Reserves three assumptions were made; that populations would prove sufficiently fluid to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances and to attain an equitable distribution in relation to the available land, that artificial water supplies would be provided on a scale sufficient to allow of such a distribution and that improvement in methods of agriculture would be sufficiently rapid to compensate for land loss and to provide for increasing populations. However reasonable these assumptions may have been at the time, none has been verified by events. The boundaries of tribes and chieftainships remained static, there was little or no migration from over-populated to under-populated areas and in one instance congestion was aggravated by immigration from outside the Territory. The systems of land usage tended to degenerate rather than to improve, partly owing to increasing pressure on the land and partly because of migration of the men to the centres of employment. It was assumed too that adequate agricultural and water development services would be provided, and it proved beyond the resources of the country to provide such services in time to meet the need.

As a result of these factors, some of which could not have been foreseen owing to the lack of adequate data at the time, and some of which, like the economic depression and its effect on territorial finances, were unpredictable, extensive maldistribution arose in some parts of the Reserves. By 1941 more than half of the people within the Native Reserves of the four districts were living under conditions of more or less acute land shortage in relation to the land needs of their traditional systems, and very considerable areas were in process of rapid degeneration.

There is now little point in discussing whether or not the application of measures for agricultural improvement could have solved the problems of over-concentration without transfer of populations. In all probability no measure which would have been practicable could have met the case. The agriculture of a people can be rapidly developed only if three factors are present together; the means, the incentive and the will. Throughout the area we are discussing these factors were and for that matter still are, to a large extent absent. Except for local concentrations of cattle among the Ngoni, Chewa and eastern Senga, stock are lacking or negligible in numbers. The only implements are the hoe and the axe. A high proportion of the able bodied men are away at work, and the main source of income is from local employment by Europeans or the fraction of the wages of migrant labour which returns to the villages. With one or two local exceptions there are no cash crops sufficiently remunerative to compete with the attraction of the labour centres or to act as an incentive and provide the means for agricultural improvement. Nor was there any will to adopt new, incomprehensible and laborious methods while great areas of land, formerly in the possession of the people, remained empty and unused. This psychological factor alone would have defeated, and where it was attempted did defeat, all efforts at agricultural improvement. In addition, throughout most of the cattle areas of the Eastern Province population concentrations had reached such a level that even the immediate general adoption of an advanced system

5:Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni
Lamba FQ8
Marav: FQ4

The great escarpment area of the Eastern Province, much of it inaccessible and uninhabitable, except for small pockets of fertile soil, was opened to unrestricted settlement by the Ambo and Senga-Kunda peoples. Other areas of poor soils and low carrying capacities in Fort Jameson District were also opened to free settlement up to a population total determined by the carrying capacity.

In Ndola District an area was opened to immediate uncontrolled settlement, in order to relieve acute land shortage and actual starvation in one section of the Reserve.

A somewhat modified method has been used in parts of Petauke District where dams are the only means of providing water. Here the population unit consists of three or four villages grouped into a 'parish' and settled about the watering points. A single land area is demarcated for each of these groups, instead of allocating a separate block to each village. This method allows of economy in the distribution of watering points, tends to reduce the effect of inter-village movements and, it is hoped, will lead to larger administrative units.

§ 7. *Agricultural Control and Improvement*

The general object of resettlement is to re-establish a population-land balance on the basis of traditional land usage *and the present population numbers*. Obviously, this balance cannot be permanent if the population is increasing; and if it is not increasing something is seriously wrong. Reliable vital statistics are entirely lacking but probably most of the tribes are increasing (the Ngoni may be an exception) at a rate which, judging by the very few available data, may be about 1½ per cent per annum, a rate which would double the population in forty-six years.

Resettlement is not, and was never regarded as, a substitute for agricultural improvement. The objects are to reduce the agricultural problem to practicable proportions, to relieve acute land shortage, to give time for experiment and the introduction of new methods. The assumption is that an evolutionary process of agricultural improvement will keep pace with natural increase of population, and that this process must be guided by experiment.

Simple measures of agricultural control, and the beginnings of soil conservation and agricultural improvement, have been introduced in each of the resettlement areas as a condition of occupation. It need hardly be said that these are not popular with the majority and the existence of such conditions is a deterrent to movement.

In the case of the earlier settlements in the Fort Jameson District an elementary system of soil conservation was introduced by demarcating the land for cultivation in contour strips separated by untouched belts of grass (which acquired the name of 'ten-yardis' since the original strips were ten paces wide). This was followed by an attempt to replace the traditional mound system of Ngoni, Chewa and Senga by cultivation on ridges

648 to plant a small number of trees (four per hut is the general rule). Seeds,
293 seedlings and cuttings of mango, mulberry, lemon, guava, pawpaw and
671 banana are distributed free from Departmental and Native Authority nurseries. The trees are planted within or about the sites of the new villages and the people are on the whole willing enough to plant them but show little [177] inclination to care for them once they have been planted. Losses from drought and damage from fowls and small stocks are fairly heavy and in the Western Province two severe winters in succession have frosted off a [132] number of young plantations. It is still uncertain whether this attempt to establish village orchards will be successful.

The only other general restrictions on land use are the prohibition of
311 cultivation within demarcated areas and of late burning of grass and bush.
648 In all village blocks non-cultivation areas have been demarcated for the pre-
185 servation of streamsides and steep slopes. Areas have also been demarcated as Forest Reserves for future timber supplies and for the protection of watersheds, and in some cases land which is not required for present use has been reserved against the future needs of a growing population. Late burning [622] of grass and bush is prohibited and the responsibility for early burning of the village blocks is placed upon the headman concerned. These prohibitions are enforced by Native Authority Rules.

§ 8. *Housing*

648 In most of the resettlement areas an attempt has been made to improve
361 the standard of housing and the layout of villages and on the whole this
362 has been fairly successful. When the permanent site has been selected (sometimes a lengthy business involving consultation with the ancestral spirits) the lay-out of the village is planned and the situation of each building marked out by an African Assistant. The people are persuaded to adopt a somewhat higher standard of building, but no compulsion is used and they have generally been willing enough to do so if the standard expected is not too high. The standard of housing and village lay-out is certainly an improvement, if not a very great one, on the standard within the Reserves.

In the Western Province a number of model villages have been built [342] of Kimberley brick. These were built by the villagers themselves, with the assistance of a small team of skilled builders and thatchers employed by the Administration. The object was to stimulate a desire for better housing and it seems to have done so in some degree since most of the other villages have now volunteered to become 'models'.

§ 9. *Assisted Movements*

166 The movement of a village for a comparatively short distance, a day's
648 journey of fifteen miles or so does not present any particular difficulty and the African has long been used to such movements. If it is impossible

6:Rattray E, G-S (ca. 1900) 1907 FRS Ngoni FRS

are unknown, and he talks, "having regard rather to the poetical feeling than to the grammatical position and syntax of a word." But enclitics, tense particles, concords, the various forms of the verb (applied, causative, intensive, reversive, etc.), and all those auxiliary particles such as *ba*, *ka*, *ngo*, *dzi*, and enclitic particles such as *-nso*, *-be*, *-tu*, etc., by which all the finer shades of meaning are expressed, he uses absolutely correctly, and it is with a view of understanding, and making oneself understood, to the raw, uneducated element among these natives, that one should go to the trouble of learning this language.

The customs, stories, etc., recorded herein are those of the natives inhabiting Central Angoniland. They are descendants, for the most part through intermarriage with the Achewa, of the Zulus who came from south of the Zambezi, scattering as they advanced, under different leaderships; those under *Gwaza* (the father of *Sakambewa*), and his *nduna Chiwere*, settling at Dowa; *Mpezeni*, a son of *Gwaza*, settling near Fort Jameson. *Mpata*, the father of *Chikusi*, after reaching as far as Lake Chirwa, and raiding the Anguru under *Sinjambwereka*, came to Domwe, near Dedza, under promise of cattle from *Sosola*, a *Chipeta*, or *Nchewa* chief. (*Chipeta* and *Nchewa* are synonymous, the former word being a sobriquet bestowed on the *Achewa* who came on to the Angoniland plateau, by the *Achewa* who settled on the Lake shore, the latter referring to the former as the *a chipeta*, i. e. they of the *chipeta* (long grass)). Intermingled with these customs, borrowed for the most part by the conquerors from the conquered, are to be found traces here and there, and here and there a word, which strike the key-note of their past history, now all but forgotten even by themselves. But what is of their

Y: Rodgers G-5 (1926) 1933 FRS Ngoni FRS
Manuel

N 619 565

Of the Mwalawa Tribe.

(1) *Chimbale* (Chimbalanga).

Of the Achewa Tribe.

(1) *Nkewa*, meaning the house put over an antheap. Tales: tenuine (Kandewanda, Tchewidjwe). (2) *Chiri* (Kamphinde, Pemasi). (3) *Mphoge* (Linkoge). (4) *Chipete* (Chinyamwezi). (5) *Chinsa* (Kpandeka). (6) *Nyl'ombe* (Mwayewe). (7) *Chilo* (Gwanbe). (8) *Lisimbi* (Kalimba). (9) *Mbanje* (Mpeba).

Of the Tonga Tribe. (A tribe allied to the Atumbuka living to the North of Nyassaland, not to be confused with the Alu-tonga south of the Zambesi).

(1) *Mwale*. (2) *Nkhoka*.

M 575 595 [825] [769] [881]

3. *Secret Societies: the Vimgwe.*

N [575] [777]

The word vimgwe (sing. chimgwe) signifies "representations of animals." It serves also as the name of a dance in which large figures of grass and wicker, masks and other disguises play the principal part. This dance has a wide range and has long been performed by the Achewa in connexion with funerals. Latterly it has been introduced into initiation ceremonies as well. It is not danced by the Ngoni or Tumbuka tribes to the north; but the Dewa Angoni, who have not preserved their own nationality, tribal forms and customs to any great extent, have adopted it generally for funerals and sometimes for initiations. The most prevalent explanation of its origin is that when God made the country and its people He also instituted the vimgwe. Consequently, the life of the people is bound up with it, and its secrets must be guarded zealously, initiates being warned that if they disclose them, not only will they themselves perish, but also their fathers and mothers and all their relations with them.

M [814] [775]

In 1907 Captain R. S. Rattray referred to this dance in his "Folk Lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja," pp. 158 and 179, and expressed the opinion that it was undoubtedly in some way connected with totemism, the grass animals being representations of the dead. He observed that the secrets were scrupulously kept, and that natives accustomed to speak freely on their other customs refused absolutely to discuss the vimgwe. During the last twenty years of contact with European civilization, the dancers have greatly increased in number; the dance itself has diverged to some extent from the original purpose and degenerated into a mere amusement; and the educated native of to-day does not believe as readily in the mysterious properties of a grass animal, and is therefore comparatively ready to impart his knowledge on the subject.[1]

M [178]

M [171]

[1] Dr. Bennett makes a brief reference to the vimgwe, and in Harvard African Studies III, loc. cit., p. 202, he describes one of the corresponding Yao voyage figures, viz., the nyoka-nda, which is a "representation of an animal made of bark on a framework covered with mud and painted with deer in spiral markings, hence the name (nda=a part of a spiral shell from the Zambezi coast much prized by natives as an ornament)." In the following pages he gives a list of the other voyage figures, nearly all of which represent various animals, and states that they are used at the *lupondo* (initiation of boys) for instructional purposes, the Wayao denying any totemic origin. The Yao word *vyago* is, of course, the same as the Chewa *vimgwe*.

The first day of the proceedings, mbo le kwanu, is known as mbo le kwanu makwe. The host is treated as outdancer, and kwipa makwe begins to dance, followed first by a chinsolo and then by mdimdi. As sunrise the dancers proceed to the dambwe, and those who play no further active part may go and bathe, after which they repair to the kwale, where they rest and drink till noon. Meanwhile, the relations, accompanied by any other of the men who assisted in digging the grave or were present at the interment, have betaken themselves early to the banks of the stream where they bathed on the former occasion. The women who have worn cinthondo burn them in a fire, and scatter the ashes. If they have indulged in sexual intercourse while wearing them, the cinthondo refuse to burn. Both sexes bathe separately as before, and all return to the house of the deceased, outside which the men shave each others' heads, as also do the women. About noon one or more envelope come from the kwale and dance in the mzinda. Chadzondo hobbles out, goes round the graveyard, and goes first to the house of the deceased to receive a cape from the widow and then to the house of the headman, where he sits on a chair while people come and give him mwape and beer. After this refreshment he dances in the kwale, and then retreats to the kwale for a rest, returning to dance a second and third time before retiring finally to the dambwe. Then kwipa makwe dances for the last time, and is taken to the dambwe and burnt, and those who have handled him bathe. Females again being bathed gate from the graveyard, and dance with them in the kwale, singing "*Mbiya ndondo*," and the envelope continue dancing for a while. At sunset the ceremonies are ended by the male relations of the deceased burning first the bee fences and then the house. The widow sleeps in someone else's house for a few weeks, until a new house has been built for her by her relations.

9. *Funeral rites (Ngoni).*

The procedure described by Captain Rattray[1] in 1907 is still remembered by the old men; but the younger Angoni are inclined to follow the customs of the Achewa with certain modifications. For example, they place the corpse in a recess cut out from the bottom of the wall of the grave in order that it may not be soiled when the grave is filled in. They do not bury him any food, but place his spear and shield and one or two of his knives in the recess by his side. Part of his remaining property is deposited in the main shaft; but the men always inherit the knives, except the chipondo (knife for cutting meat), which falls to the head wife.

On the second day after the death, the widows and children tie cut *mpalapalas* grass, from which they weave cinthondo to bind on their heads. As long as the widows wear these cinthondo, they must abstain from sexual intercourse; if they fall from grace, they invariably remove the cinthondo first. They must also keep their hands behind their backs when walking abroad, and may only use one hand when gesticulating. They must refrain from conversation and ablution for two or three weeks, at the end of which they have beer (known as mse wa cinthondo) and invite a few friends to partake of it. Very often a widow's near female relations past the time of childbearing wear cinthondo and observe prohibitions in sympathy with her.

[1] Bunching heads of plaited grass (see following section).
[2] "Some Folk Lore Things and Stories in Chinyanja," pp. 98-99.

T: Hodgson G-S (1926) 1933 FRS Hyami FRS Macavi FR4

N 765 [262] On the second day, also, the maternal uncles take some or a goat according to his means, and divide the flesh among the mourners. The bones may not be gnawed, as this would be considered equivalent to eating the dead man, but they are put into an earthen basket and thrown away into the bush at the end of the feast.

M N [764] [177] On the third and fourth days the male relations surround the grave with a fence of tadora grass known as *ekkina*, which is sometimes plastered by the women with mud. The Ashaua are now beginning to imitate this custom, and also that of wearing *simbanda*. Both tribes plant *ekkinda*[1] trees about the grave in order that the dead may have shade.

N 766 765 239 A chief is not buried in the common graveyard, but in the village just outside his hut, and a chair is sometimes placed inside the *ekkina*. One of his senior relations kills a goat, and the new prospective chief ties a rope along the handle and blade of a knife, with which he cuts a horizontal strip of skin round the quarters of a goat, and wears the strip for two or three months as a belt, the tail hanging down behind. With the same knife the widows cut off the false hands together with a small piece of adjacent skin, through which they thread a string, and then bind a false hand on each wrist and wear them till the end of the period of mourning. The rope must remain fastened to the knife throughout this period, at the end of which all are burnt together.

VIII.—Magical Observances.

1. *Reincarnation and Spirits (Ghosts).*

M 769 [776] [622] [779] [262] Rivers or spirits are invoked as intermediaries between man and God (Chuku), and each village contains a hut for the spirits of past chiefs, to whom prayers are generally made because they are powerful and because they are known to everybody. Some of the larger villages have two huts, one for the spirits of men and the other for the spirits of women. A man may also make offerings to the spirits of his own family in his own hut. When the green maize is ready for eating, the people may not taste it until their headman has taken a cob, cooked it in his house and placed it in the spirits' house, where he claps his hands and thanks the spirits for the crop. The cob, like other offerings to spirits, may be eaten next morning by children below the age of initiation.

M 775 If, as frequently happens, a traveller strays—as we should say, *unconsciously*—when following a route which he knows quite well, it is the work of a spirit which has been annoyed by him. On one such occasion a police constable of mine, who had been sent to the neighbouring station while his child was ill, found himself wandering several times from the main road, and knew thereby that his child was dead, and that its spirit was troubling him because he should

[824] [1] *Ekkinda*, *oyiburbin*. These are evergreens, quickly propagated and long lived, and as they serve also as a sign to mark the grave long afterwards. In the Bisugo District the Anyonja and other tribes sometimes plant them in order fetish because they are supposed to be obnoxious to termites.

Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 105, writes that in the Shire Highlands in 1859 they found all Manganja villages surrounded by an impenetrable hedge of poisonous euphorbia. He continues: "This tree casts a deep shade, which would render it difficult to lure men to take aim at the villagers inside. The grass does not grow beneath it, and this may be the reason why it is so universally used, for when dry the grass would convey fire to huts inside; moreover, the hedge acts as a healer to all flying sparks.

The Fort Jameson Ngoni[1] are at this stage of transition. Many men and some women can read, if not write, and we can no longer call the tribe nonliterate. Yet a society of this kind behaves in many ways as if it were nonliterate. In particular, information about the past is transmitted orally and laws and customs are not committed to writing. In this paper I shall discuss some of the ways in which this information is manipulated. I shall distinguish between tales of fighting, relating to the period 1821–1898, which we may regard as tribal legends of origin; beliefs about customary behaviour relating to the same period; private legends which serve to explain the form of relations between present-day groups; and lastly history proper, documents describing contemporary events, if such exist.

Early travellers all speak of the various Ngoni groups as fierce warrior tribes interested only in destruction and plunder. With the spread of European control Ngoni raids ceased. Today in villages inhabited mainly by women and children, with scraggy animals and eroded gardens, the traveller looking for signs of a military tradition sees only khaki greatcoats and battledress. Among the Fort Jameson group, if not elsewhere, the great cowhide shields, and the regiments which carried them, have disappeared. Yet the battles of the past are still remembered and are called to mind in songs sung at drunken parties, in tales told to children and, importunately, to sympathetic strangers. Many of these songs are in the old Ngoni language now largely forgotten, and singers cannot give any precise meaning to the words they sing. They are the relics of the past learnt parrot-fashion and in the context in which they are sung they do not require any specific reference. In our own culture we do not need to know who were the April visitors before we can sing "Green grow the rushes, O". Prose tales, however, are in ordinary speech and describe military exploits of people known to the speaker, or preparations for raiding ordered by the Paramount Chief and carried out by his lieutenants. The most frequently recounted battle of all is the fight between Ngoni and British troops in 1898. Many men and women are still alive who remember the fighting or even took part in it. The cataclysmic changes which followed the Ngoni defeat and the unusual weapons used combine to make the battle memorable. It is the only admitted defeat, for all other tales tell only of victory. The Ngoni defeated the Bemba, Wisa, Cewa, Kunda, and so on.

We know from contemporary travellers' accounts that though on the whole the Ngoni were successful against their neighbours, their run of successes was not unbroken. There is evidence that on occasion even the Cewa raided the Ngoni and took captives. We may regard the form taken by these legends as due in part to the process found in most cultures by which victories are remembered and defeats forgotten. But the distortion introduced is not only the elimination of defeat. The Administration and the Missions have,

1. I worked among these people during 1946–49 while on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

8: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FRS Ngoni FRS

in general, encouraged co-operation between tribes and have treated all tribes as equals. They have emphasized the values of peace rather than a war, and have condemned pagan rites. In the light of this teaching legends have been modified to conform to modern values. The barbarity of the raids has been minimized and the good qualities of the old military discipline have been extolled. Sometimes men say that the old armies never fought but only danced, or that people from other tribes were not captured but all joined the Ngoni of their own free will (as in fact some did). It is said that there was never any ancestor-worship; the names of the Paramount Chief's ancestors were merely mentioned in prayers "as King George is mentioned now". This process by which the Ngoni conquerors of yesterday are made to look like the European conquerors of today is no new phenomenon. The Ngoni identified themselves with European rather than with their matrilineal neighbours even before the European conquest. Weme, himself the main agent of their defeat, wrote, "They are very proud, looking down on all the other tribes with contempt, and think they show great courtesy whenever they assure the European traveller that the Whites may be related to them."[6]

Another traveller, arriving from the south in 1896, relates how he ran into an armed patrol on the outskirts of Ngoni country. His own carriers ran away but he called out to the patrol that he was a friend of the Paramount Chief, speaking in Zulu. He then heard them saying, "He is an Ngoni and a white man."[7] My own informants told me that the old Ngoni language was closer to English than to Nyanja.

This misinterpretation of the past in the light of the present has not produced a consistent picture of a proto-European society. The inconsistencies of the present remain and are reflected in the ambivalent attitude adopted to the past. Although in one context people recall that everything was well ordered and peaceful in the past, in other contexts they dwell on the unlimited power of the Paramount Chief and the fierceness of his warriors. An aristocratic man once said to me at a beer party, "If this was the old days I would kill all these Cewa drinking here." Yet the general impression which people usually try to convey is of a disciplined, proud, and successful people.

This picture is accepted not only by Ngoni themselves but also by Europeans. For us it is one part of the good old days when Africans still smiled and were nature's gentlemen. Our picture of the Ngoni contains fewer concessions to contemporary White values, for the very distinction between Whites now and Blacks then increases the attractiveness of the picture. Ancestor worship and polygyny are not unwelcome in a Black Arcadia.

Ngoni nowadays compare themselves with their European and Indian neighbours and envy their apparent power and wealth. They seek to rationalize their own relative failure in terms of their past. It is in this connection

6. Weme, *Gwahidze*, pp. 220 f.

7. Lane, whom he had satisfactorily answered questions on Zululand geography, Ndy'ami said of him, "He is a chief . . . he is an Angoni, one of us." Dyere, *Slave Raiders*, pp. 19 and 23.

it might almost be called nation-building. And when you have heard the Ngoni Paramount discuss the position of minorities in his country, and his claim to territories no longer under his rule, you could almost imagine you were in the corridors of the League Secretariat at Geneva.

The Ngoni state, however, to-day is not only a political structure, a framework for political and social life. Within that structure, forming parts of it, are institutions embodying those social, political, economic, and ethical values which are peculiarly Ngoni. The Ngoni, that is to say, when they absorbed other peoples into their state, imposed upon them a new social order together with the values inherent in that order. Patrilineal succession and inheritance, for example, introduced by the Ngoni, was bound up with the relations of father to son, the acquiring and distribution of cattle, the worship of clan and family ancestors. Each institution had its clearly related rules and values, and these are made explicit by the Ngoni when they describe them. The casual European observer in the country sees only the Paramount Chief and his subordinate chiefs ruling over a welter of tribes with a confusing mixture of social behaviour. To the Ngoni, however, and to the anthropologist who follows their lead, the pattern of society which they set up is clear and definite; it has a cultural reality of its own. The seeming welter of tribes is in reality an ordered relationship. Each group, tribe, or clan, has its recognised place *vis-à-vis* other groups. Within that ordered relationship the different groups have pursued a process of preserving some customs and adopting others, and they can give a coherent account of what they have retained and what they have borrowed. The real Ngoni do not admit to borrowing much. They like to think of their society as very distinctive as well as being well integrated. Yet the degree of modification in Ngoni society needs very close investigation because it shows much variety in different localities.

When they entered their present areas the Ngoni were very inferior in numbers to the indigenous people. How was it then that they were able to subdue them? And having subdued them, how did they pre-

mark' of the Ngoni as various forms of tattooing were of other tribes. Ear-piercing was sometimes forced (i.e. upon captives taken in war), sometimes voluntary. To-day children of local clans are teased by children of Ngoni clans and called 'Chewa' if they have not had their ears pierced, and they beg their mothers to take them to the 'doctor' to be 'made Ngoni'.

9. Read E-9 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Maravi FR4

Ngoni understand and speak it. It is in fact one of the distinguishing marks between the true Ngoni and the rest. It is convenient for a chief to be able to exchange a few remarks with a relative or an important visitor in a language which the onlookers cannot follow, and I have also heard a chief do the same with one of his *indunas* during a case in court. When I played Zulu records on my gramophone the [123] seniormen and old warriors drew near to listen, while the nobodies who could not understand fell back naturally. It is interesting to see how this language test brings out the social distinctions based on [543] family and rank, and produces generally an inferiority reaction among the non-Ngoni.

As other distinguishing institutions the Ngoni point out their dances[1] and songs; their former military organization with its related system of age grades; their political organization under the Paramount Chief with his hierarchy of *amakosana*, *abalawuzana*, *izinduna*, *amancosa*, &c.; the system of courts, again a hierarchy, with the laws administered in them; their village organization which still preserves the division into *izigaxa* or hamlets, characteristic of the very big Ngoni villages of old days; the Ngoni code of ethics, differing radically from the code of the neighbouring tribes, with its insistence on truth, chastity, and personal discipline; and their patrilineal descent in clans and inheritance of property. This last, superimposed upon the local matrilineal and matrilocal tribes, has created a variety of forms of marriage and inheritance which is almost the despair of the field worker. The Ngoni say proudly, 'We taught them to honour their sons' when pointing out how nephew succession has to a large extent given way before filial succession. The values inherent in certain Ngoni institutions have spread beyond their own areas, for one Chewa Paramount Chief told me he had for long admired the Ngoni system of filial succession and inheritance, and was now trying, in the teeth of much opposition, to introduce it into his country.

After I had been a little while among the Ngoni, and their chiefs and leading men had begun to realize my aim in field work, I was surprised by the help they gave me and the amount of co-operation they showed in my enquiries. Then one day an old *induna* revealed

[1] One Ngoni Paramount has prohibited any but Ngoni dances to be danced in his country.

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FRS Ngoni FRS
Nkoya FRS

occasion on which he made known any new laws before the assembled leaders of his country. The ceremony was marked by special songs and dances performed only at that time. It was an occasion on which economics, religion, politics, social life and recreation were brought together in a dramatic form in the part played by the Paramount Chief *vis-à-vis* his people. When speaking of these 'good old days' the Ngoni always refer to the *Isapusi*, for it was to them symbolic of the greatness of their *Inkosi*, and of how 'they lived well' before the *Azungu* came as despoilers.

On the subject of warfare and of training for war the Ngoni will talk for hours. Among the many things which they mourn in the passing of the old order, they regret most the military training of youths and men, and the age-grade system which was part of it. They point out how a youth had his appointed companions to whom he stood in a recognized relationship of mutual obligation and assistance, and with these companions he went through the grades of calf-herding and cattle-herding until he graduated into a regiment. The field worker can observe how much Ngoni 'national feeling' was bound up with memories of war days, when to-day they put on their war dress and dance war dances at a chief's village. I have seen Chewa men and women huddle together during these war dances, and mutter, 'Too many Ngoni are here', as if they were still in the days of fighting and raids, while the Ngoni warriors swagger about, swishing their kilts of skins and brandishing their shields and spears with every appearance of reality. I have heard accounts of Ngoni raids for cattle going as far as the Kafue River, into the Mashukulumbwe country, given with such details of the places on the march that I think they must be substantially correct. Even if it is legendary, the recital of such raids still fosters Ngoni pride and distinction, and I have heard an old man who took part in such a raid compare it scornfully with young men going nowadays to Broken Hill and the Copper Belt. 'They go only for money', he said, 'We went for our *izidlodlo*[1] and for cattle to honour the *inkosi*'.

The Ngoni are realists and they admit that while they planted their institutions in the country and maintained most of them, at the same time a measure of adjustment was going on to the local cultures. For

[1] Head-ring, the sign of a warrior ready to marry.

this they put the blame on the women. They point out that while they were on the march the local women they picked up, with their different language and customs, had not a great deal of influence on the community. Once they were settled, however, and married local women, those women went visiting to their own homes and took their children with them, and gradually a pronounced alien element and another language penetrated into Ngoni society. This is illustrated very well in the girls' initiation ceremonies, which differ very much in Ngoni and Chewa society. Ngoni men and women tell you with disgust how the *chinamwali*, the Chewa ceremony, began to be practised in Ngoni villages in place of the *umtondo* or *umguwo* of the Ngoni. It was the only occasion on which I have heard them commend the action of the missionaries in putting down a custom, for they really despised the ceremonial and associations of the *chinamwali*, and rather than have it among them, they preferred outside help in putting it down.

The Ngoni dislike very much being asked point blank what cultural adjustments they made due to Chewa and other local customs. They admit reluctantly one or two minor adaptations, and proceed immediately to tell the major changes which they forced on the Chewa and others living under their rule. The chief adjustment by the Ngoni has undoubtedly been the adoption of the local language, as being the language of the women. Ngoni women of good family still speak Ngoni, but I have not found any instances of local women married to Ngoni men who have learned it. One of the perennial topics among the elders in an Ngoni village is the 'bad' influence of the women on the children. When pressed to explain the nature of this 'bad' influence, they say, 'The children are learning only the customs of the women. They cannot know about the Ngoni'. They lament the vanishing of the age-grades as the natural channels for instruction of young men in Ngoni customs, though they say with their characteristic realism, 'What is the good of having age grades and regiments when there is no war?'

If we were to attempt to reconstruct old Ngoni society as it was in the days before white contact, it is to this period, *chamtenders*, we should turn. There we can find the structure of Ngoni society, the distinctive Ngoni institutions, and Ngoni supremacy over the surrounding tribes as a reality. When the first white people arrived, as

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5

When the first white people arrived, as
traders and missionaries and officials, they were all impressed with 114
the power of the Ngoni Paramount Chief and the impossibility of [643]
getting any footing in the country without his consent and aid. 'Mpezeni[1] is a very powerful chief . . . and shows the greatest dislike to any interference with his governing powers. He has formed a powerful kingdom where his subjects are mainly Chewa, Chipeta and Senga stock, but his power is consolidated by a Zulu and half-Zulu aristocracy.' Such was the official view of the Ngoni state under old Mpezeni expressed by Sir Harry Johnston, and similar impressions are recorded of the Ngoni states in Nyasaland. If this was the European impression of Ngoni supremacy it is easy to picture the feelings of the Ngoni themselves with all their pride of race and of achievements in nation-holding, when for the first time a superior power [177] loomed on their horizon.

VII. The Advent of the Europeans. I have up to the present 101
referred to the three Ngoni areas as if they formed one cultural unit. This is true of their earliest days, and to a large extent of the time called *chamtendere*. In spite of certain minor differences there was then a form of society and of political organization which was the same in all three areas, and they all possessed the same language, traditions, and aristocratic hierarchy. After the advent of the Europeans, however, it 177
becomes impossible to generalize, as both the manner and the results 184
of white penetration varied so much in the three areas. As a study in culture contact where eye-witnesses, both white and black, are still available as informants, it is most illuminating to compare the effects of white contact in Mpezeni's and Mwambera's countries. In Mpezeni's the first contact was commercial, in Mwambera's, missionary. The contrast between Ngoni society in those two districts to-day is startling, and is commented on frequently by the Ngoni themselves. 'See', say Mpezeni's people, 'the Charterland Company came to us. To Mwambera's country it was Dr. Laws. And Dr. Laws's men can speak English to-day and we cannot. Our cattle were taken by the Europeans; Mwambera's were not. That is why they *lubola* their wives to-day with many cattle, and we have only a few cattle.' They often referred to these differences as soon as they knew I was going from

[1] This was the old Mpezeni, son of Zwangendaba.

177 184 one Ngoni area to another, and it is evident that they are well aware that they met with different kinds of white contact. A frequent topic of discussion in villages is the differences between the administration of N. Rhodesia and of Nyasaland, as well as the policy and attitudes of the different missions.

177 186 There is, however, one common factor in the situation called culture contact, existing wherever the Ngoni meet any Europeans. Like the Zulu, the Ngoni do not necessarily take kindly to white ways nor desire to make an extensive imitation of white culture. Their racial and cultural pride makes them cling to their own institutions and resent the assertion of white superiority in every sphere of life. This is evident in material culture as well as in the realm of political and social values. The Ngoni are well known for their skill in house- [342] building, yet they prefer their own of poles and mud, and are slow to take to brick houses. Their houses, both in the villages and on the copper mines, were noticeably bare of 'store goods', and their expenditure on clothes and 'trash' is low in comparison with the wages earned. Their standards of hospitality, of courtesy, and of mutual assistance they believe to be much superior to the Europeans. They carried on their own system of courts by themselves until it was [692] recognized by the Native Courts Ordinance a few years ago, and they speak with scorn of the chief who cannot decide his own cases and has to have recourse to the Boma. Several times in the villages, when describing their agricultural methods, or hygiene for young men, or moral training of children, they have said to me, 'Write that we knew this before the *Azungu* came'.

186 726 On one count they do concede superiority to the Europeans. 'Only in war the *Azungu* knew better', and that to the Ngoni was the acid test. In Mpezeni's and Gomani's countries, where they were conquered by force of arms, they knew they had to yield as they had made others yield in their day. Yet even here they find a cause for pride. 'No one ever conquered us until the *Azungu* came, and no one will conquer us again until they first conquer the *Azungu*.' This I have had said to me many times by men when speaking of their experiences as carriers and as *askari* in the East African campaign. They add as explanation, 'We went to the war of the Germans because the Boma said we should go. But we wanted also to see if the English would

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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work in Southern Rhodesia and the Union. This exodus to the south in its turn brought the Ngoni into touch once more with the Matabele, the Zulu, and the Swazi, and reawakened their consciousness of their southern origin. It is significant that just at the point when their power in their own country received a crushing blow, they came into contact once more in the south with the stock from which they had sprung and to whom they could still speak in their own language. The anthropologist who looks for the reason why the distinctive Ngoni culture did not die out entirely after their military defeat and the advent of the whites, can see at least part of the reason supplied by the results of this economic exodus to work in the south. When the other tribes in the neighbourhood were, in the Ngoni phrase, 'running always to the Boma' and incidentally picking up fragments of European customs, the Ngoni remained, according to their own account, to a great extent aloof and were strengthened in this aloofness by their renewed southern connexions.

Ngoni supremacy over the country was at an end. The Europeans were the overlords of all the tribes, not the Ngoni. Instead of one big chief in the country, many small ones were now recognized who dared to give themselves airs because they knew the Ngoni could not compel allegiance to their Paramount. Chewa people living under Ngoni chiefs could no longer be forced to stay there, therefore a different attitude towards them was necessary. 'Chewa' could no longer be synonymous with 'slave'. I have heard Ngoni chiefs in court address their *indunas* and headmen many times on behaving well to people of other tribes 'Or they will leave us and to-day we cannot make them return'. A recent case in which a young chief, but a very important one, was summoned to the Paramount's court for insulting a Chewa woman, was made the occasion by the Paramount for a long public discourse on the present relations between Ngoni and Chewa, pointing out that an Ngoni chief whose Chewa subjects left him would 'spoil his country' and 'all his people would be ashamed'. Ngoni prestige, in fact, having lost the support of military power, had to rely on other sanctions. In their own eyes, their prestige was still due to their southern origin, their success in creating the Ngoni state in an alien milieu, and those distinctive institutions which they had retained. To the surrounding people, to the Chewa and other tribes,

Ngoni prestige depended partly on the very effective justice meted out in the courts,[1] and also on the unquestioning allegiance of all subordinate authorities to the Paramount Chief. A Chewa Paramount Chief told me that he envied the power and prestige of the Ngoni Paramount, ' because all his chiefs obey him ', and there is undoubtedly a widespread admiration among the less united local tribes for the centralized political organization of Ngoni, and the fact that they can hold a large area and many people together as an effective unit.

The Ngoni, therefore, in the course of the last thirty-five years have to a large extent made the adjustments necessary to their changed relations with the local peoples. They have accepted the new situation *de facto*, though they do not necessarily acquiesce in heart. They still think they are due a unique position among the tribes, and for this reason they dwell continually on the glories of *chamtendere*. Nor does the adoption of some measure of European ways reconcile them to a different attitude. Even educated Ngoni teachers and ministers have said to me with deep regret, ' We are ashamed because we are being ignored to-day by other tribes '.

Their attitude towards Europeans is also partly based on the European failure to accord them a unique position among the tribes, or at least to acknowledge their former unique position. This, to them, is a cause for feeling ashamed. They are ashamed too because the land, except in the Reserves, is no longer theirs, and they have to submit to taxation. ' To pay taxes, that is our war to-day ', and something of the old martial spirit is evident in the young men who successfully evade the tax collectors, where the tax is collected directly by the Government, as in Mpezeni's country. In Gomani's country, on the other hand, where taxes are collected through the chiefs and headmen, though the men groan at having to find the money, they do not attempt to evade it, first because it would be useless, and secondly because they acknowledge the right of the chiefs to collect dues from them.

Any generalization about the Ngoni attitude to white people would be inaccurate without much detailed explanation, for which there is no space here. It is true though, I think, that at least in Mpezeni's country and possibly in the others, too, the Ngoni have not yet willingly made

[1] It is said that it is useless to bribe Ngoni chiefs and councillors.

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the mental adjustments necessary to white contact. They still resent white intrusion and its results, economic, administrative, and missionary. At the same time many of them earnestly wish for a solution of the present tension, but towards such a solution there is no easy short cut.

VIII. Conclusions. Conclusions reached after the first period of field work are generally given with a certain reserve, especially in a complex field such as the Ngoni present. I think, however, that the conclusions in this paper can be stated with some certainty, and as dogmatic statements they form a basis for further field work. For they set the main problems for the detailed study of the Ngoni, and also of the Ngoni as a field for observing culture contact. In this article I hope that the three chief elements in the study have emerged, namely, the problem of Ngoni society as a cultural and political unit; the culture contact problems due to the contact, and part fusion, with local tribes; and the modern culture contact problems due to European penetration.

1. The Ngoni as a group must be regarded from two points of view: those who ethnically have a right to be called Ngoni, who are members of recognized Ngoni clans, with an acknowledged southern origin; and all those who live in the territory of the Ngoni Paramount Chief, and call themselves his people. These last were incorporated into the Ngoni state by the first group, who are still the ruling aristocracy, but the incorporated people now share in Ngoni 'national sentiment' and have made certain sociological changes in order to conform to Ngoni culture. It is their southern origin and their well remembered traditions of the past which confer distinctiveness on the true Ngoni, and on the state which they built. It is to their past they also turn for the charter for those institutions which are recognized as distinctively Ngoni, such as the Paramount Chieftainship, the hierarchy of rank, and patrilineal succession. Their historical origin and military achievements form also the charter for their former position as rulers of the country which they held before the advent of the Europeans.

2. The Europeans in two of the Ngoni areas destroyed the unique position of the Ngoni by defeating their armies. These armies had

177 178 hitherto been the chief sanction for Ngoni supremacy. With their invincibility gone, the regiments broke up and the Ngoni military prestige was at an end. At the same time the direction of political affairs and the relations between the different tribes was assumed by a superior power. Ngoni political ascendancy and their control of economic organization was also at an end. The subject races of the Ngoni who had hitherto either been conquered or submitted voluntarily to the Ngoni had now an ally who was stronger than their former masters.

3. The new situation forced the Ngoni to make drastic readjustments. 177 178 They had to readjust themselves to new relations with other tribes, and at the same time to the Europeans. In their contact with 186 the Chewa and other subject tribes they could no longer maintain the 648 social exclusiveness which had marked the distinction between Ngoni and slaves. There was therefore less actual resistance to culture fusion, though the dislike of adopting alien customs persisted. This dislike of alien customs was evident to some extent also in white contacts. The missionaries brought a new religion, western education, and western medicine. Other Europeans introduced land reserves, taxation, and working for wages. To the local tribes the European represented security as well as certain material benefits. To the Ngoni these material benefits appeared less welcome in the face of their defeat. There was therefore a psychological conflict set up among the Ngoni 178 —a malaise due to their military and political downfall, together with 181 their determination to preserve certain elements in their own culture. 182 That psychological conflict is evident everywhere to-day, and finds expression in all conversations which turn on the relations of the Ngoni to other tribes or to Europeans. To the persistence of that conflict is due the strength of Ngoni 'national feeling', which has directed the selective process by which some of their political, legal, and social institutions have survived the results of culture contact.

4. Conditions all over Africa are changing and new forms of social 178 and political organization are emerging due to the contact of the 648 Africans with European civilization. What place has the Ngoni state in this emergent African society? Are there still cultural realities in Ngoni society which should be preserved, and can the Ngoni political structure be galvanized into new life through the medium of Indirect

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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5. Girls dancing *Citelele* in competition with another village. The girl in the centre has a whistle in her mouth

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6. Young man drumming for a *Jimi Roja* dance at an installation ceremony. This dance, named after an American band leader, is allowed only on important occasions

NGONI

[Facing P. 224]

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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said to be due to their definite knowledge of common patrilineal descent rather than due to the common name. At the other extreme are names such as *tembo*, *lungu*, and *phili*, which are derived from the neighbouring tribes of the region and are very common and have no connotation of exogamy.

Prior to the arrival of the Ngoni descent-names were inherited in the matrilineal line by the Cewa, Nsenga, and other tribes of the Eastern Province. Under Ngoni influence, the rule was reversed and the great majority even of recently incorporated Ngoni now bear the same names as their fathers. Some people do take the descent-names of their mother, as, for example, a child born in adultery who is not accepted by its mother's husband, or one whose father dies young so that it is brought up by a relative of its mother. As with the Tonga of Mazabuka, some descent-names have locally alternative forms, and in one instance men and women take different names.[1]

Appeal is sometimes made for protection and help on the basis of a common descent-name, but this is not a very strong tie and is invoked only when no closer link can be found. The principal uses of descent-names are in polite forms of address and in connexion with beer-drinking.

Marriage Payments

The initiative in choosing a spouse usually lies with the man. A woman who takes too much initiative in this matter is regarded, usually correctly, as likely to be unfaithful. In the old days marriages were more frequently arranged by the parents of the couple concerned, but now this happens only when the man is away. Men who are on the farms or in the mines send money home to brothers or fathers with instructions to find them suitable wives, and to offer the money as the legalization payment. During the 1939–45 War this arrangement was continued by soldiers who were away.

The most important payment in connexion with marriage is that made by the bridegroom to the bride's father which I shall call the legalization payment.[2] This payment is the one that establishes unequivocally the right of the husband to damages should his wife commit adultery or be allowed by the court to divorce him. It must be observed, however, that damages may still be awarded to the husband under certain conditions where no legalization payment has

[1] The name *sulu* for a man becomes *mvula* for a woman in certain areas.

[2] *Cimalo*, no plural. Cf. Young, *Customs and Folk Lore*, p. 61.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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Council mentioned above spent some tweny years of his life in Johannesburg. Fort Jameson itself is not a sufficiently big town for this process to take place within it, and yet it is only in Fort Jameson or on the tobacco farms that a man can live with a leg in both camps, going home to the village at the week-ends and probably keeping his wife in the village during the wet season to tend her crop.

On the other hand, there is some rivalry between the traditional leaders and the comparatively prosperous townspeople. The well-clad and well-housed Ngoni of the township are sometimes described scornfully by village people as 'merely White'. There is a feeling that the leading African traders are trying to monopolize the economic opportunities in the villages. Recently the same prominent Ngoni businessman proposed that he should take over the delivery of mail to the Native Authorities, which he claimed he would be able to do more efficiently with a car than can the present postman on a bicycle. The Paramount Chief did not answer this proposal but wrote instead to the Administration to complain against the danger of one man being allowed to earn so much more than anyone else while there were so many people who needed money. At the same time, men whose lives are led principally in the towns complain that in the villages there is 'nothing but jungle', and that the chiefs are old-fashioned and obstructive.

The Administration

The relationship between the Provincial Administration and the Ngoni is characteristically one of superordination and subordination. The District Officer can send for any Ngoni, but not even the Paramount Chief can send for the District Officer. This characteristic arises from two sources, from the premiss which we find held all over Southern Africa, that any White is superior to any Black, and from the supervisory role allotted to the Administration in the Native Authority scheme. These two facets of the same relationship are not always seen separately by the Ngoni, and in many contexts their behaviour towards the Administration is governed entirely by the fact that the District Officer and those above him are all White. Official reports by the Administration during the reign of Mpezeni II repeatedly remarked on the Paramount Chief's distrust of Whites, and this attitude still persists. Any kind of trouble at all, particularly when it is seen as a characteristic of the present times as opposed to the glorious trouble-free past of the days of peace, before the Whites

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The tribe is represented to the Administration in the person of its chief, and the fact that it is through him that the Administration articulates with the tribe is realized by thinking people. In a wider sense, he represents the tribe to the White community as a whole. When I first started work in the area there were many formalities at my meetings with the Paramount Chief, so that I should understand the importance of his position. Mpezeni II is said never to have allowed a White to see him dancing, because of the mystical and social dangers involved. At a county meeting, held while the Paramount Chief was away in Livingstone, the court clerk reminded headmen that the month of May was approaching, and that he would soon be wanting people to hoe the Native Authority roads. When the time came, he did not want headmen to say they had no people. He continued: 'If the people do not obey the laws, then Mpezeni will not be well regarded by the Whites. Then when the Administration wants to make bad laws, Mpezeni will not protest, as he will want to punish his own people.' 648

If the chief is too attentive to the requirements of the Administration, then his standing with his own people is likely to suffer. A chief's court was once described as 'just a White court' because of its alleged bias in favour of the Administration's interpretation of native custom. On the other hand, this identification with the White Administration is not accepted by the chiefs and their advisers. In an adultery case, in which the husband did not want to divorce his wife but she refused to go back to him, Mpezeni, who was present, ordered the woman to return to her husband. A councillor asked the woman what she had to say. She said she loved the co-respondent. The councillor was annoyed, and asked her, 'Do you know who Mpezeni is?' The woman said, 'He 's a chief', using the usual word for chief, *mfumu*, current all over north-eastern Rhodesia. The councillor replied: 'No, Mpezeni is not just a chief, everyone is a chief nowadays.' The woman then said, 'He 's a White.' The councillor answered: 'No, Mpezeni is not just a White whose orders can be sometimes obeyed and sometimes ignored. Mpezeni is *nkhosi*, the great chief of the Ngoni, whose commands must always be carried out.' 643 554 177

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352 Beds are owned in general by the younger generation only, and then at the rate of one per household. Otherwise, everyone sleeps on the floor on a reed mat. During the day, the mat is rolled
285 up except when needed for drying flour in the sun. These mats are made from reeds that grow near streams. The reeds are split in four, and are threaded with a thin rope made from the inner bark of the nzizi tree. Wooden headrests are now a rarity, and if any
513 headrests at all is used, it is a European pillow. Blankets, quilts
[77] and, less frequently, sheets, are bought from stores.

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412 The chief tool for use in the garden is the hoe. Ruins of fur-
[325] naces for smelting iron ore are still to be seen, but are not now used,
[567] and are said to have been worked in the old days only by Chewa slaves. Hoe blades are bought in the stores, and hafted with a handle made in the village. Handle making is a man's job, but one that every man knows how to do. Axes are made from blades bought in the store, or else from a worn down hoe blade, with a home-made handle. Adzes are used for mortar making, and young boys make miniature adzes as toys. A pointed blade hafted on to the end of a straight handle is used for making holes in the ground when building.

493 Sledges and, less commonly, unarticulated carts with solid
[241] wheels are made for transporting the harvest from the fields to the village, and for collecting firewood. These are pulled by cattle,
[490] not always oxen, using simple yokes made of wood and sinew, with a wooden drawbar.

224 Hunting is carried on in the dry season, particularly towards
411 the end, when the grass burns easily. Guns of varying degrees of antiquity are used, but none of these are made by Ngoni, although the Chewa still make guns. On a hunt, the rank and file are armed
224 with throwing spears and knobkerries. The gun carriers walk about two hundred yards in front of the main body, who are spread on a single line at right angles to the line of advance. The leader of

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294 the hunt walks in the middle of the line, with a responsible person posted on each flank. A started animal, if not shot by the guns, usually turns to run parallel to the line of hunters, who hurl spears and knobkerries at it, and send their dogs after it. The chances of escape for a hunted animal are fairly high. Animals are also trapped, usually with a piece of meat tied to the muzzle of a gun. Hunting with nets is sometimes undertaken in the wet season. Rats are caught in small conical traps baited with beans. The rat chews through a piece of string and releases a green stick, thereby strangling itself.

[714] Shields, once the pride of the Ngoni armies, are not carried on hunts and are infrequently seen.

VI

291 [177] It is only the old men who still wear skin garments, and then only as additions to European style clothing. Men are dressed in khaki shorts and shirts, long trousers, cast-off European clothing, or clothes brought back from the army. Often two shirts are worn on top of one another. Women wear a blouse, a skirt tied on a tape, a cloth wrapped round on top of the skirt, and a small cloth tied [854] round their waist. If carrying a baby, the cloth supporting the child is slung over the left and under the right shoulder, and another cloth may be wrapped round the woman and child under her armpits. Dresses are also worn, and sometimes a singlet under the blouse. Shoes are less common for women than for men. Men /10/ wear a [177] variety of European style hats, but women wear only embroidered cloths or berets, or in the case of poorer women, plain bands of cloth.

Children go naked, or may be draped in whatever garment, of whatever size, happens to be available. If the money is there to pay for them, boys are dressed in shorts and shirts, and girls in little dresses.

304 [178] In the old days, every adult had slit ears, but this custom has died out. Women nowadays pierce their ears if they wish, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a small slit made as a

13:Fraser M-5 (ca. 1890) 1901
FR5 Ngoni FR5

barren with terror, till a great belt of uninhabited territory surrounded Ngoniland on all sides. It was sad to pass through this rich land, left to the wild beasts, to see mouldering smelting furnaces, and other signs of lost industries.

It was when the tribe was still in the height of its devastating tendencies that the Livingstonia Mission came into the country. At first the early pioneers were barely tolerated, and more than once it seemed as if they would have to abandom everything and flee for their lives. But gradually, imperceptibly the preaching of peace began to sweeten and purify the atmosphere, and the horrors of these fighting days became part and parcel of a dreadful past. Three years ago a new paramount chief was elected. At the great council the wild spirits of the tribe tried to rouse the people to celebrate the coronation with a great raid. They danced, threatened and raved, but the younger chiefs, themselves Christians, spoke eloquently for peace, and in the end peace prevailed, and the death knell of the past was sounded. And now there is no more settled, peaceable, law-abiding people in Central Africa. And this victory has been won not by the rattle of Maxim guns, not even by the wisdom of diplomacy, but by the daily teaching of the Gospel of Peace.

The political structure of the tribe is strong and conservative. The father of all the people is the paramount chief. His authority has descended to him through a long line of ancestors, the eldest son of the principal wife succeeding to his father's position. In some cases the head wife has had no sons, then she adopted a son of one of the other wives and he became the heir. The chief's power is nominally absolute, and he is surrounded with a certain regal dignity. It is impressive to see the aristocratic majesty that a great chief can maintain. Though his regal robes may not be more than a dirty bit of blue calico, which is not worth fourpence, he walks with a scornful dignity that any European prince might envy. When he listens in court to some great indaba his face is expressionless as granite, with an affected indifference he drinks from his great calabash of beer, and ladles ounces of snuff into his nostrils, while his poor subject pleads with passion and eloquence over a matter which may mean death or life to him. Yet behind his nominal power he is controlled and restrained by the voice of his council. His succession may be plain and acknowledged, yet he cannot assume the reins of government until he has been nominated by the sub-chiefs and councillors. Our present chief had to

13:Fraser M-5 (ca. 1890) 1901
FR5 Ngoni FR5

down at the chief's feet, and with a shout dashed up again and danced a furious war dance. His eyes fixed and staring with passion, every muscle distended, he stabbed into the air with his spear, tossed the dust of the kraal about, and leapt hither and thither in a frenzy of passion. All the while he kept shouting his battle-cry, and the thousands of fighting men around beat their spears and chanted a chorus. When he had exhausted himself, another headman leapt into the circle and went through his own peculiar wild dance, and then another and another, and for half-an-hour or more these fantastic exhibitions were maintained. Then the chief rose. A great roar of salutation greeted him. Gathering his clothes about him he walked in procession from the kraal, and the council broke up.

In the olden days the power of the chiefs was maintained by a wholesome dread of his warriors, and the laws were enforced with a consistent severity. One result of this is that the Ngoni tribe has always had a higher standard of morality than any Central Africa people. Some persons were stealing mission cattle and complaints were made to the chief. After a time a thief was caught, and then in spite of the pleadings of the missionary the highest penalty was meted out to him. He was hanged on a tree opposite the mission house, and it was forbidden to remove his body. The hyenas wore a path round the foot of the tree trying to get at the carcase, and there he hung, a terrible example to the neighbourhood, until the white ants ate the rope by which he hung, and the body fell to the waiting hyenas.

I have seen a chief receive news of the adultery of one of his wives, turn to his executioner, and give him instructions, and in a few minutes both man and woman were lying dead outside the village. I have myself begged for the life of a woman who had sinned, and she was spared only after a great fine in cattle was levied instead.

These were harsh and terrible punishments, necessary for rough times. And now when the chief is loosing some of his old authority, and dare not exercise capital punishment because of the overshadowing British Government, one fears that except where the power of religion has taken the place of the old dread, a weaker morality is apt to sap the vitality of the tribe. The punishments were not arbitrary. They were fixed by precedent. And all the past quarrels for forty or fifty years back would be quoted to prove the right of a plaintiff or defender. And now

13:Fraser M-5 (ca. 1890)1901
FR5 Ngoni FR5

when the death penalty can hardly be exacted, or compensation made in the delivery over of slaves, they find it hard to satisfy demands and make a show of justice.

Now let us speak of the social life of the people. The Ngoni differ from most of the Central Africa tribes in their habit of living in large unprotected villages. The tendency of most of the other tribes is to scatter themselves in very little hamlets over a wide area, with scarcely a path of communication between the villages. Where war has harassed them they have built huge stockaded villages for their mutual protection, but as soon as assured peace has come again, the towns have split into numerous distant groups of houses. This seems to be caused by the dread and mistrust of one another which the people have through their superstitious belief in a evil eye, and in witchcraft, and through the perpetual little quarrels that arise. A carrier who was accompanying a friend of mine described this state very well when they passed a little village of four huts, and then a few hundred yards farther on an isolated hut. Holding up his hand he cried, "Look at Mr. Thumb saying to Messrs. Fourfingers, keep your distance."

The heart of a Ngoni village is the large circular cattle kraal. There all the court cases are tried, there the visitors are received, and there the dances are held. Round the kraal the village of beehive huts is built in regular rows, and then immediately outside the gardens begin. The village life takes the place of family life, and the headman is father of all the people. The boys after they have attained to twelve years of age or so live in huts by themselves, and the girls in huts on the opposite side of the village. These girls' quarters used to be most sacredly guarded, and any man found in their enclosure after dark could be killed.

The great part of the Ngoni nation consists of domestic slaves. They are people, or the descendants of people, who have been captured in raiding expeditions. But their position is not a hard one. If they are discontented they may change masters. They give their masters a little free labour, and in return are made members of his family; he espouses all their quarrels, looks after them in sickness, and shares some of his superfluity with them, but they have to share some of their necessities with him.

Polygamy was the universal custom of the people until recently. Now hundreds of polygamous unions are being dissolved every year. But in the rougher days polygamy was a necessary

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condition. It helped to maintain the comparatively high morality of the people. And it was never allowed to go to the extremes that the Tonga or others went to when a single chief would have 100 wives. The expensiveness of marriage put a limit on a man's matrimonial ambitions. Yet polygamy was essentially an evil custom. It was based on sensuality and on indolence. And when Christianity comes bringing industry, and self-restraint, it must disappear.

In the old days the chiefs would not allow the men to marry till they were over thirty, and the women were strong and full grown. This preserved the splendid physique of the tribe. But now the laxer customs of the Central Africans is telling on the Ngoni, and one of our hardest tasks is to absolutely refuse marriage to couples whom we think to be too young for this serious responsibility. I have a marriage service every Tuesday, at which I usually unite eight or ten couples in holy wedlock. But these have first of all to come to me that I must judge by appearance, for they cannot tell their ages, whether they have reached the stature of manhood and womanhood. Then if I am satisfied the banns are published and they are married.

But before a man has reached this stage, he must first pay his father-in-law a dowery for his daughter. The value of the dowery varies, according to the rank of the family into which he would marry. The daughter of a chief might be worth to her father as much as twenty cattle, while a slave might only receive two or three goats This also was a great restraint on early marriages, for a man could not marry until he had time to gain a little wealth, and pay for his wife.

The position of a wife of an aristocrat was one of considerable ease and dignity. She had to work certainly, but she had also a considerable following of slaves to assist her in her labours. But the position of the wives of the commoners was little better than that of slaves. When the rains came on the husband sallied out with his wives. He sat on an ant hill and snuffed, and from this exalted position directed the labours of his wives who hoed.

In this the Ngoni were less noble than their neighbours, for many of the surrounding people think it is a disgrace to send the woman to the gardens. When the harvesting came, the women went to the gardens and reaped and carried home the grain, while the husband prepared the barns. And women pounded the grain and cooked it. While the men had the pleasure of eating it.

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243 forest is cut down and burnt, and another garden cultivated, and so the country is rapidly being deforested. The crop is largely
213 used to make a heady beer, and although Central Africa has been happily saved from the curse of European liquor, the native beer is a great source of big drunken bouts. Heavy drinking, however, does not bring the evil effects that brandy drunkenness would entail. The drink is a nutritious and a very sustaining food. I know some of the old chiefs who are drunk almost every day of their lives by midday, yet they bear up wonderfully. But
[579] these drunken bouts, when whole villages run riot, are the source of nearly all quarrels, adultery, bloodshed, and every outburst of passion. We have had to denounce the beer drinking as a menace
[177] to the social order of the country, and for lack of the strong restraint of the British Government, which forbids the cutting down of trees, we have preached against the deforesting of the land as a wicked improvidence. The native church has, of its own initiative, taken up the question, and enjoined on the members total abstinence, and the preservation of the forests.

461 Three or four months labour are sufficient to provide a family with food for the year, and the sale of a sheep or a heifer will buy all the clothes the family requires. There is therefore little necessity to work, and the tendency is to spend the months lounging about the village, talking and trifling. Now, happily a more
177 industrious period is waking, and larger ambitions for cloth and
461 for stock, are drawing out the men to work. As a mission we insist on the duty of labour, we refuse church privileges to a man
797 if he cannot show that he has been engaged for some months each year at some labour centre doing honest work. No moral good is ever effected by pampering African pride and indolence, and one of the first lessons Christianity has to teach the native, is the dignity of labour, and the absolute necessity for the labourer to be industrious and honest in the discharge of his work. A penny a day is the ordinary wage we give a labourer, and even the great majority of my 220 teachers do not receive more than 1/6 a month.

171 Of course many of the Central Africans have industries of their own, smelting, basket making, cloth weaving, wire pulling, and so on. But the Ngoni were a handless people until they got a spear in their hand. Then they drew themselves up as men, and defied the universe. Yet this martial life had an ennobling effect on them. It is a curious thing to notice, and a fact which was

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borne out in Roman days also, that the handier, and more artful and skilful people have usually a lower social morality than the fighting races. Our Ngoni came to Nyasaland as a moral blessing. The ordinary obscenity of the indigenous people was not for a moment tolerated among the Ngoni. It is very appalling to hear and see how degraded were the Tumbuka into whose land they came. A people among whom virginity was unknown, where family relationship was no defence, where men and women lived in an atmosphere that was charged with vice. But when the Ngoni came, many of the foul practices of the Tumbuka were punished with death. Their obscene dances were prohibited, many of their superstitious customs were banned, and generally a higher type of morality was superimposed.

The aristocratic Ngoni is a gentleman through and through. His word is absolute. When he gives a promise you may fearlessly rely on it. He does not steal, nor does he intrude on your privacy. I have heard the old men storm in a village because some boys stood around staring at me, or speaking. Before a superior they should sit down, and remain silent, or only speak in whispers. When they address you they always give you your family name of honour, or if they don't know it, round off each sentence with a "sire." When you come into a village you sit at the gate of the cattle kraal and wait for your reception. After a long time the elders of the village appear. Their courtesy is that the longer the wait the greater the welcome. For if they come out quickly they seem to say you had better clear out quickly. When they appear they sit down at some distance, and remain silent. You must not speak till you are spoken to. After a decent interval, they come forward, sit down, and leisurely say, "We see you, sire." Then you reply, "Yes, sire." That is the whole courtesy. Conversation may now begin. When you would rise to go, you first of all say, "Remain in peace, sire," and they reply, "Yes, and go thou in peace, sire." It is very courteous and friendly, and they accompany you along the path a little way, and again send you off with salutation.

Their village life is not without interests and amusements. During the day in the head villages there are continual trials in open court—trials which last for hours and days with continual speech-making. In the evenings the kraal echoes with the chorus of village dances. Quite the prettiest and most delightful dance is the village competitive dance which is held during the day. A

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challenge is sent from one group of villages to another. And on the day appointed the strangers arrive walking in procession. The girls and women are dressed in their gaudiest clothes, and their heads and arms are decked with bright coloured beads, and the claws of lions and leopards. The lads carry dancing sticks and miniature shields. The strangers open the dance. The girls standing together and holding reed wands in their hands sing in chorus, while the men arranged in a great semi-circle dance and sing. Their dance is wonderfully energetic and graceful, and is executed with a rythm and unison which is fascinating. You can hear a long way off the hundred feet come down on the earth of the kraal with a thud as of one man. When they have danced for about an hour they give way to their rivals. The home villagers step in and dance for another hour. And so on they go from ten o'clock till about four. There is no mingling of men and women. And the whole exercise is chaste, healthful, and beautiful. It is quite the show piece of our village life.

And now a few remarks in conclusion on their religious beliefs. I do not intend to say much on this point as one only can get at the inner meaning of their faith after long and careful investigation, and with a thorough knowledge of their language. Their religion was not formulated. If you ask them about it they can tell you little or nothing. They will deny that they knew anything of God until we came. Their observances were scarcely recognised by themselves, they were the spontaneous and almost unconscious expression of a people groping after the unknown God if haply they might find Him. They recognise a spirit who presides over the universe.

They have a name for Him which means the great great one. But the ordinary name is the one which south of the Zambesi is used for all white men, and seems also to imply some feeling of wisdom and greatness. But they seem to have no idea of God's imminence in the world. He is rather the mighty far away Spirit to whom men cannot come. Along with this, homage is made to great mountains and ancient trees, and to the strong elemental forces, as thunder and lightening. But this seems to me to be an addition which has come through their residence among the Tumbuka.

The great pervading article in their religious life is reverence and dread of the ancestral spirits. The whole land is full of their presence. And offerings are continually made to them to appease

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their anger and propitiate them. Yet this recognition is not made in any degree of affection but in the times of dark necessity. When the rain has not fallen, when locusts swarm and eat up their crops, when sickness and death are abroad in the village, the spirits are working out their vengeance for being neglected. Then they are remembered and sacrifice is made. There are also certain ceremonial observances on important occasions. Before the gardens are hoed, and when the reaping time draws near; if an army is going out to battle, or when a coronation takes place, then prayer is made. The confusion of the old and new ideas was amusingly illustrated at the last coronation ceremony, when Mperembe, the eldest sub-chief, sacrificed a bull, and offering it to the spirit of the dead chief prayed him to bless the new chief, then added, "and, O Mombera, bless the teachers when they go about teaching the people the words of God." There was something very beautiful in this recognition of Christianity as but a fuller shining of the dim light they had.

Their old men are full of stories and traditions, some of them are uncommonly like the stories of Uncle Remus, and others with a curious echo of Old Testament story. There is a hill near Ekwendeni, where tradition says a great tower was built by the Tumbuka to reach into the moon. But the white ants ate away the foundation and the tower fell and the people were killed. I passed below this hill when I was on my way home, and chaffed my carriers on trying to build so great a tower with wood. They laughed, and said, "But do you know the story of the hill over there?" pointing to the north. No, I said, what is it? And they told me how that long ago the Tumbuka found the country too narrow, so they decided to climb into heaven and cultivate new gardens there. So they gathered the nation together and cut down all the trees, and began to build a huge tower on this hill. When they had got a great way up, some cried "Stop, we need build no more. Here is a ladder coming down out of heaven." And they looked up and saw great roots hanging down. So the people caught hold of these roots and began climbing hand over hand up to heaven. But suddenly while they were all climbing, the roots broke, and the nation fell to the earth and was snuffed out.

Like other children of nature there are men and women in the tribe who seem to have a wonderful gift of second sight. Forty years ago a regiment went out on a great raid. The witch doctor in blessing them told them that they would meet a white man

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787 [177] rising out of the lake, this was the spirit of the fathers returned. Now they had never heard before of men with white skins. But one day when they were burning the Henga villages, suddenly they came on David Livingstone and his party on their first journey of exploration on the Lake. More than once I have heard them tell how this wicked hag had cursed her enemy and said that beneath that tree the lightning would strike her, or some other terrible prediction, and there came a strange fulfilment. 795 791 Such curious accidents gave to witch-doctors and others a dangerous power over the people. And in spite of their constant failure to bring rain, or ward off sickness and death, their reputation was kept alive by the memory of one or two ancien successes, and by playing on the terrors of the people. Unfortunately these superstitious terrors led to miserable atrocities. 695 The witch-doctor was always called in to detect crime which was not patent. He brought his poison pot with him. He might accuse whom he pleased, and the only way the accused could clear himself was by drinking the poison. If he became sick and vomited then he was innocent. If he died he was guilty. When 766 a chief died his spirit was not allowed to go to the other world alone. A great fight was organised and many were killed, that they might be with him. Or the women and slaves were taken and buried alive with him in the pit.

845 849 The twin children and those who cut their upper teeth before their lower, or any who showed any abnormality were buried alive in the sand of the river, or were cast out to the hyenas.

177 These atrocities are happily becoming matters of history. We seldom now hear of them, and when we do, it sends a thrill of horror through many of the people.

[643] Now a great change is coming over the people. They are the only independent tribe is Central Africa, living under their own chiefs. But the old military days have passed away, and with them much of the great power of the chiefs. The old men see it, and shake their heads, but do nothing to readjust the state. But the young chiefs, most of whom are readers and Christians, have set themselves energetically to try and remould their government.

[634] Our most capable and powerful sub-chief, who is himself an elder of the church has recently established a regular hut tax, and has formed a police force. His police bring criminals to justice, enforce his judgments, prohibit the people from cutting down trees, and during slack seasons go through the villages, and where

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they find dirt and untidiness compel the people to turn out and sweep the village, and rebuild their houses.

Education is spreading at a great rate, and there are fifty schools already established among the people with about 7,000 scholars in attendance. These pay fees for their attendance. And so great is the thirst for reading that last year more than 4,000 volumes were bought by the people.

A Christian church is rapidly growing up, and at certain religious seasons a great congregation of over 7,000 people may be seen gathered from all quarters.

Yet it would be a pity if with this inrush of new life the old tribal characteristics were lost in a wretched caricature of European methods. There is nothing more slovenly than a lithe athletic African dressed in European cast off clothing, or more repulsive than a lad trying to be an Englishman when he should be an Ngoni proud of his nationality. And this is one of the most serious problems that is constantly before us, to guide this people in their formative period, that in the end they may not be denationalised, and made hideous and ridiculous in a distorted and unnatural mould, to preserve all national customs which are not evil in themselves and yet evolve a people honest, industrous, intelligent, and Christian, who will have some harmonious and beautiful part to take when the world's orchestra is filling up to play its symphony of peace and prosperity.